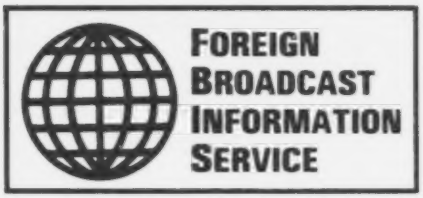

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-189
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MTI Reports on Romanian Refugees in Sofia

LD2609174688 Budapest MTI in English 1648 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—According to reports over the weekend from BTA (the Bulgarian news agency) and MTI (the Hungarian news agency), a group of 12 Transylvanian Hungarian refugees are staying at the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia, and have "expressed the wish to live in Hungary".

Speaking about the situation, unparallelled in the contacts of socialist countries, Foreign Ministry spokesman, Istvan Komoroczky, told MTI's Budapest correspondent that at the moment he could not provide any further information on the Foreign Ministry's next moves.

Dr Boldizsar Nagy, assistant professor of international law at Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, pointed out that, "despite former similar occurrences in international practice, no legal regulation stipulates what course should be followed by the three countries. The concept of refugee is unknown in relations among the socialist countries, and the European legal systems do not recognize the right of diplomatic asylum. In the absence of an unambiguous international legal ruling on such a situation, the problem has to be settled through diplomatic channels."

BTA Cited on Asylum-Seekers

AU2709100388 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Sep 88 p 1

[MTI report: "Romanian Refugees at Hungarian Embassy in Sofia"]

[Text] In a four-line dispatch on 24 September, the Bulgarian press agency BTA reported that "a group of Romanian citizens at the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia had expressed the wish to live in Hungary. Representatives of the two countries' embassies in Sofia are currently holding talks on the issue."

In connection with the BTA report, the MTI correspondent in Sofia has learned from Ambassador Gyula Gyovai that the group consists of 12 Hungarians from Transylvania, including a minor and his young mother whose husband is already in Hungary. In addition, there are three couples with a total of three children, and an older boy. All of them have relatives in Hungary.

Foreign Ministers Meet for UN General Assembly

Mladenov Meets FRG's Genscher

AU2809140888 Sofia BTA in English
1300 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York, September 28 (BTA corr.)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, who is taking part in the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, had a meeting with Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice federal chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG. They exchanged views on bilateral relations and on current international problems.

It was underlined that the INF Treaty signed between the Soviet Union and the United States is a step of paramount importance in the process of disarmament. A shared hope was expressed that these two countries will also agree on a 50-percent cut in strategic weapons. The two ministers emphasized the necessity of signing a convention on the complete ban of chemical weapons and the destruction of all stocks of such weapons the soonest possible.

Special attention was paid to the situation and the prospects of the Vienna follow-up conference process in Europe. Mr. Petur Mladenov and Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher underlined the necessity that the consultations in Vienna be finished by coming out with a clear and rich-in-content mandate for cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. It was pointed out that the two countries will continue to contribute to the creation of an all-European home. Minister Genscher noted that his country attaches much importance to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the FRG to the Soviet Union and to the talks he is to hold with Soviet leaders.

The two foreign ministers gave a high assessment to the development of the traditional good relations and the increasing intensity of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the FRG. A belief was shared that the forthcoming visit of Mr. Richard von Weizsaecker to Bulgaria will give a further impetus to their development.

Chnoupek Talks With Malile

LD2909102388 Prague CTK in English
0905 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New York Sept 29 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak and Albanian foreign ministers, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Rais Malile respectively, met here yesterday on the occasion of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session.

This was the first meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries since 1961 when the level of diplomatic representation was reduced.

The ministers discussed the present state of bilateral relations and possibilities of their further development. Bohuslav Chnoupek underlined Czechoslovakia's interest in an early and complete normalization of relations, in restoring diplomatic representation at ambassadors' level, in expanding cooperation in all spheres. He stressed that Czechoslovakia will welcome a continuation of the political dialogue on a due level, including further meetings of the foreign ministers. The minister also pointed out the extensive possibilities of cooperation in economics, especially in the use of new modern forms of cooperation. He also emphasized the fact that Czechoslovakia has traditionally been Albania's largest trading partner among the socialist countries.

Minister Rais Malile stated that Albania has a positive view on the Czechoslovak proposal for normalizing bilateral relations of January this year. He pointed out the considerable sympathy Albania feels for Czechoslovakia and its nations, as well as common interests and features in the history of the nations of the two countries. He said Albania was interested in a gradual development of contacts and cooperation in trade, economics, culture, science and technology.

While evaluating the international situation, the ministers agreed that some important positive results had been achieved, which have a favourable impact on the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session. They also stated that a number of problems still exist, negatively influencing the situation in the world and in Europe, and stressed the need to continue seeking an improvement in international life.

Chnoupek Meets Shim'on Peres

LD2809173088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres have met in New York in the framework of the 43d UN General Assembly at the request of the Israeli delegation. This is the first meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers since diplomatic relations were broken in 1967. In a lengthy talk, the ministers exchanged views on the international situation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek stated that the crisis in the Middle East, which is persisting due to Israel's policy, must be settled speedily by means of an effective international conference with all interested parties taking part, including representatives of the Palestinian people and the permanent members of the [UN] Security Council. He particularly highlighted the need to respect the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and the principle of equal security for all states in the region. He went on to emphasize that this, the longest-standing regional conflict, could not remain on the sidelines of the positive developmental trends in current international affairs. This requires new approaches and that realities be taken into account. Bohuslav Chnoupek spoke in detail about

the intention of the Czechoslovak side to organize a Middle East model conference at the start of December this year in Prague at the nongovernmental level with broad international participation, including that of representatives of the Palestinian people and Israel.

The Israeli minister stated that the Middle East is still not a secure place for the states situated in that region, and emphasized that he sees direct talks as the means for settling the problems. In his words, Israel does not consider the convening of an authoritative international conference on the Middle East as useful at the present time.

The two ministers went on to review Czechoslovak-Israeli relations. Shim'on Peres expressed the hope that relations between the two countries will be fully restored in the foreseeable future. Bohuslav Chnoupek stated that relations and cooperation can develop if Israel takes a positive approach to settling the Middle East situation in keeping with the appropriate UN resolutions. It is within this framework that both sides see further possibilities for continuing their dialogue.

Chnoupek Meets Varkonyi, Syria's Al-Shara

LD2809103388 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] The United Nations: On the occasion of the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly, [UNGA], Bohuslav Chnoupek and Peter Varkonyi, the Czechoslovak and Hungarian foreign ministers, have met in New York. During their conversation they examined the most topical issues facing the current UNGA session and discussed mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Bohuslav Chnoupek has also met Farouk al-Shara, his Syrian counterpart. The two officials exchanged views on the current international situation, including the convening in prague of a model conference on the Middle East.

Chnoupek Talks With FRG's Genscher

LD2509194288 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] New York Sept 25 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek met here today on the occasion of the 43rd U.N. General Assembly session his FRG counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher. They favoured further constructive development of their countries' relations.

Discussing international topics, they said both sides would strive for the quickest possible completion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. They will cooperate in effort to attain substantial and balanced conclusions of the meeting as well as to create prerequisites for starting talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armament in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Varkonyi Meets Malile, Peres

LD2909085188 Budapest MTI in English 0730 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New York, September 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, attending the session of the UN General Assembly, held talks with Foreign Ministers Reis Malile of Albania and Shim'on Peres of Israel, and with Willy de Clercq, the official of the European Economic Community responsible for foreign affairs.

At talks with the Albanian foreign minister, the sides discussed opportunities to further develop relations between the two countries. At the meeting with the Israeli foreign minister, Peter Varkonyi reconfirmed the invariable Hungarian standpoint on the Middle East settlement, and the sides also evaluated relations between the two countries. Peter Varkonyi and Willy de Clerq reviewed current issues of relations between the EEC and Hungary.

Varkonyi Meets Chnoupek, Others

LD2809103888 Budapest MTI in English 0718 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York, September 28 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Dr Peter Varkonyi held talks in New York with Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek of Czechoslovakia, Narasimha Rao of India and Joao Pinheiro of Portugal. The foreign ministers, attending the UN General Assembly session, utilized the opportunity to review the development of bilateral relations, including economic and commercial contacts. The Hungarian foreign minister and his partners voiced their interest in further intensifying the relations. Current international affairs were also reviewed, with particular emphasis on the tasks facing the UN General Assembly session which opened in a favourable international atmosphere.

Varkonyi Meets European Counterparts

LD2709114388 Budapest MTI in English 1010 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] New York, September 27 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, who is in New York attending the United Nations General Assembly, held talks with the West German, Italian, Dutch and Belgian foreign ministers.

At talks with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the sides agreed that relations between the two countries are settled and can be qualified as good. They particularly emphasized that boths sides are interested in the soonest possible successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. They highly appreciated the improvement in the East-West relation, and its beneficial effect on the international situation.

The talks with Italian Foreign Minister Giovanni Andreotti centered on the welcome development of bilateral relations and the issues related to the Vienna follow-up meeting. The sides discusses fufillment of tasks deriving from the agreement concluded between Hungary and the EEc.

Peter Varkonyi and Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek termed bilateral relations free of problems, and voiced their reciprocal interest in furthering them. The sides discussed the possibility of a common stand with respect to intensifying the European cooperation process.

At talks with Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, the sides devoted special attention to the agreement between the EEC and Hungary, and the common efforts aimed at the soonest possible conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The Hungarian and Belgian foreign ministers also reviewed bilateral relations and exchanged views on opportunities of developing cooperation.

Olechowski Addresses Assembly

LD2809223088 Warsaw PAP in English
2156 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] New York, Sept. 28—Below is the abridged version of the statement in the general debate of the United Nations General Assembly made by Poland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tadeusz Olechowski, the chairman of Poland's delegation.

The United Nations has recently proved its vitality and potential.

The Polish delegation has come to the forty-third session strongly convinced about the urgent need for all members of the United Nations assembled in this hall to undertake yet another joint effort in order to further strengthen the role which this organization has come to play in the world today, to promote positive experiences in its work while seeking to eliminate the lingering weaknesses.

Poland has irrevocably opted for profound socio-political and economic reform, aimed at increased effectiveness and export-and market orientated restructuring of the economy. We want to take an active broadly-conceived part in the international division of labour, in keeping with the principle of mutual benefit. In this respect we count on the cooperation of all our partners, including creditor states, both on the bilateral basis and in the international financial organizations. We are confident that all states will have understood and will lend their support to the Polish Government's efforts with a view to reforms. We are confident that given the ameliorating international climate and the expanding co-operation with all states, Poland will be able to overcome its present difficulties and, as so far, will continue making its contribution to the consolidation of international security, detente and comprehensive, equitable international co-operation.

The world's primary integrating factor is the common fate of mankind—urgent necessity to solve its global problems and—unfortunately, the global threats to it. There is a growing conviction that only together we can stand up to the challenges of the day and only together we can hope to survive.

The United Nations must become to an ever greater extent the primary multilateral forum where solutions to world's major problems of our time can be worked out.

Among such problems the question of consolidation of peace and international security remains the central one.

The states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty have addressed an appeal to the international community at large, especially the states members of NATO and the states-participants in the conference on security and co-operation in Europe, to increase efforts for an early conclusion of meaningful agreements on the reduction of arms and armed forces and the consolidation of security and stability as well as to refrain from any steps likely to render progress in that direction more difficult.

The political consultative committee has recognized the following measures to be priority objectives:

—A fifty percent reduction of strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the USA,

—the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests,

—the elimination of chemical weapons, and

—the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, with a corresponding reduction of military expenditures.

The disarmament initiatives which were offered by the Warsaw Treaty and that alliance's individual members, including Poland over the past few years, also stand valid.

These issues, among other things, have for years been on the agenda of the conference of disarmament. The General Assembly has also repeatedly kept issuing appeals for the process of negotiations to be accelerated. For years we have been finding that the only progress scored at Geneva related to chemical weapons. Still, even in that province one regrets to discover slow-downs and diverse impediments to the negotiating process piling up, relating, for instance, to the question of verification, depsite the fact that the USSR and other socialist states are prepared to accept far-going compromise solutions.

The current session of the United Nations General Assembly offers a good opportunity to issue an appeal for a constructive reaction to the initiatives tabled by the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Specific for Europe and at the same time critically important for its security is the sphere of conventional disarmament. The positive evolution of international situation, ushered in by the Budapest appeal of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty and the subsequent, constructive response of the state members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, has led to a substantive advancement of preparations to the negotiating process of the twenty-three states. Poland and the other states parties to the Warsaw Treaty are prepared to do their utmost to ensure a constructive negotiating process.

Poland has always set great store by the consolidation of peace and security in Europe seeking to make its own genuine and autonomous contribution to the European disarmament process. The Jaruzelski Plan for decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in Central Europe is only the latest manifestation of such policy. The current aspects of implementation of the plan were addressed in depth in a message of the president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, to the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. They were also dealt with in a statement of the Government of the Polish People's Republic of June 14, 1988, containing an expanded version of the Plan.

May I once again underline from this rostrum that in view of convergence of the proposed plan with the contents of documents of the Political Consultative Committee adopted at its Warsaw meeting last July and in the light of views and comments of other governments, we have been strengthened in our conviction that the plan fits perfectly the pattern of European disarmament undertakings, representing its most timely and concrete manifestation, one that goes a long way towards meeting the expectations of the broadest social strata as well as of many official circles.

The Plan offers a solution which responds positively to the requirement for the consolidation of security in Central Europe yet one which is not without a universal relevance due to the distinct possibility of applying the ideas it advances to solutions on Europe-wide scale and beyond. On behalf of the Government of the Polish People's Republic I wish to reaffirm our readiness and determination to offer constructive co-operation to all interested governments for a further developing of the plan.

We are persuaded that the lowering of the level of armed forces and armaments in Europe would represent a major factor conducive to the construction of a common European home. Its cornerstone must be due respect for the post-war political and territorial order on our continent. Such a home should provide for an even greater possibility to promote dialogue and mutually advantageous, all-round co-operation open to the world, in keeping with the process commenced some thirteen years ago in Helsinki. Hence the great importance which we do attach to the CSCE Vienna meeting. On our part, we spare no effort to bring it to a positive conclusion, likewise, we consider economic co-operation in the European region most important, a fact borne out by the FAO regional conference held in Krakow last August.

In a few weeks' time it will be ten years since the adoption by the General Assembly—at Poland's initiative- - of the Declaration of the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace, a document whose overriding objective has been, first and foremost, to "demilitarize" the way of thinking and to ensure that the seeds of the idea of peace fall on fertile and well prepared soil of awareness of all people. The Declaration has not lost any of its topicality, to the contrary—putting into effect its recommendations is becoming an increasingly urgent task. Indeed, attempts at anchoring the idea of peace firmly in the people's minds constitute a logical and indispensable supplement of the material infrastructure of peace.

The consolidation of peace and the strengthening of international security, disarmament and the growth of mutual confidence are among the necessary conditions in order to render possible the solution of many pressing problems of the day. Among them are global ecological and demographic threats as well as those arising from external debt—all growing in a snow-ball fashion. They defy solution by individual states without co-operation and combined efforts on a global scale. This goes, in the first place, for relations between the highly developed and developing countries, between the creditors and debtors.

The tremendous external debt, especially dramatic for the poorest countries, but also painful for those at the medium level of development that are highly indebted, undermines the basis for socio-economic development and international exchange of goods and services.

The shortage of hard currency to finance imports cripples reforms, restructurization and modernization of the industry. National efforts in respect of economic adjustment encounter barriers to the financing of development. Absolutely indispensable becomes a practical demonstration of co-responsibility of both creditor and debtor countries with an appropriate involvement of banks and international financial institutions, in an effort to loosen and untangle the "noose of indebtness."

The General Assembly already has at its disposal resolutions adopted at its two previous sessions where from it clearly follows that an individual approach to solving the problem should be followed, at the earliest, by multilateral measures. Such relief action should either precede or constitute a preliminary phase of agreed steps in favour of debtor countries to stimulate effectiveness

and export-oriented restructurization of their economies, undertakings reinforcing the internal efforts of many debtor countries which often involve acute social sacrifices. The Krakow debt and development research centre, which co-operates with the relevant United Nations institutions, is now concentrating its attention precisely on such problems.

The state of affairs is much the same as far as the protection of the environment is concerned. Poland values highly the United Nations record in that respect, especially the resolutions of the forty-second session of the General Assembly adopted on the basis of the Brundtland report and the UNAP recommendations. Nonetheless, there is a distinct and pressing need for major new and joint undertakings in regard to the protection of the environment.

Our organization should strive to do more in that field that it has done so far. For instance, one can conceive of the establishment and implementation within its framework of a concept on international ecological security—a code of binding principles and norms of conduct of states in the field of protection of the environment. Appropriate proposals in that respect have been formulated at the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty in a document entitled "The Implications of the Arms Race for the Environment and other Aspects of Ecological Security."

However, even the best international legal regulations will prove insufficient unless accompanied by material means for their implementation. Due to the lack of financial and technical resources, ecology-safe development may well prove for some countries a luxury beyond their reach. This is the reason for the need for the identification by appropriate international bodies, also those within the United Nations system, of "areas of threat," where international aid should be forthcoming with a view to the application of recognized norms of protection of the environment. It needs not be financial assistance, for instance, the implementation of the principle of unrestricted transfer of experiences, know-how and technology in the field of the environment, as proposed by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the fortieth anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly, would be of considerable consequence.

As postulated by my delegation, the urgent need to expand international economic co-operation and strengthen constructive bonds and inter-dependencies in world economy requires that we proceed forthwith to promote confidence in international economic relations. The United Nations system, both a regional and global levels, has a considerable role to play in that respect, a fact recognized in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and of the economic and social council. The strengthening of confidence in that sphere would promote a new and more just international economic order as well as the enhancement of international economic security.

It has to be noted with satisfaction of the marked improvement of the climate of international co-operation within the United Nations system also in respect of social and cultural problems and human rights. For mankind, the resolution of the most burning social questions is as critical as the prevention of an arms race or an economic crisis.

At Poland's initiative, the previous session of the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the examination of the possible procalamation by the United Nations of an international year of the family. Our initiative has met with the support of many states which have made known their positive views in that regard. The conditions are increasingly favourable to the proclamation by the General Assembly of such an international year of the family at the outset of the next century.

There exists a tremendous interest in humanitarian problems, especially those pertaining to human rights. Along with other states, Poland attaches considerable significance to the observances of the fortieth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration on Human rights. We intend to take an active part in that important event.

It is with considerable satisfaction that we welcome the conclusion of the preliminary phase of the long work on the preparation of a draft convention on the rights of the child. Let us hope that in a year's time, at the next session of the General Assembly, the member states will adopt the convention to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of the Child.

The problems which I have commented upon can be solved provided we succeed in turning our organization into a genuine centre of co-operation and co-decision exercised by all its members. We have to strive together to enhance the performance of the United Nations and of its principal organs—as well as to promote the role of the secretary general, including in the settlement of inter-state conflicts through negotiations, good offices, mediation or conciliation. It is indispensable to make use in a more effective manner of the entire United Nations system for the maintenance of peace and the consolidation of the primacy of international law. This is the objective of the initiative submitted by the socialist states, including Poland, to develop a comprehensive system of peace and international security.

Olechowski Meets Secretary Shultz

LD2909102288 Warsaw PAP in English
0930 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] New York, Sept. 29—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski met there on Wednesday with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The meeting was held on the American initiative. Previously, Olechowski and Shultz met in the end of last July when Olechowski was paying an official visit to the United States.

The talks focused on Polish-American relations particularly as regards politics and economy.

Shultz was also interested in the development of the situation in Poland and expressed his recognition for the undertaken reforms.

The October visit of Deputy Secretary of State John S. Whitehead, the third one during less than two years, will provide another occasion for the continuation of the Polish-U.S. dialogue.

Olechowski Meets Malile, Genscher, Dumas

LD2809114488 Warsaw PAP in English
2039 GMT 28 Sep 88

["Olechowski Meets His FRG, French, Albanian Counterparts—(By PAP Correspondent Ludwik Arendt)" — PAP headline]

[Text] New York, Sept. 27—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, now in New York to attend the 43rd Session of the U.N. General Assembly, met with FRG Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The two discussed the state of bilateral relations since the visit by Minister Genscher to Poland last January. They also spoke of prospects of the development of these relations, to which the two sides attach great significance, and preparations for the visit by the Polish foreign minister in Bonn, confirming the plan to hold it in the period between October and December 1988. Working teams set up last January should meet in the period preceding the visit to prepare its substantive contents in all fields of cooperation, especially in the economic sphere.

The two ministers exchanged opinions on the East-West relations, progress of disarmament, meeting of states-CSCE participants in Vienna. They expressed hope that the Vienna talks would soon lead to a positive result.

Minister Olechowski met also with his French counterpart Roland Dumas. The talk focused on the relations between Poland and France. The two highly assessed their development though they emphasized that not all possibilities had been used. It is necessary to jointly act so that cooperation between Warsaw and Paris be added new dynamic.

Minister Dumas renewed an invitation for Minister Olechowski to pay a visit to Paris still this year.

Also today, Minister Olechowski met with Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile. It was the first meeting held on this level in 28 years. The two ministers pointed to the need to further develop mutual relations, especially in the economic field.

More on Genscher Meeting

LD2609202488 Warsaw PAP in English
1852 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] New York, Sept. 26—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, now attending the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, has met with head of the FRG diplomacy Vice-Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

On Monday, he also held meetings with the foreign ministers of Holland and Colombia.

Minister Olechowski had also an opportunity to hold bilateral talks at a reception given by President Ronald Reagan at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel this evening.

Loncar at Group of 77 Session

LD2909085688 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2320 GMT 28 Sep 88

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar proposed at a ministerial session of the "Group of 77" developing countries today that the U.N. General Assembly convene for a special session to facilitate linkage on a new basis between the developed north and the undeveloped south.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary stressed the need for a "realistic and action-oriented dialogue with a view to reviving economic growth and development in the developing countries". According to Loncar, the "position of the developing countries is becoming more and more an obstacle in the way of the economic expansion of the developed".

"This is a second chance both for us and for our partners", Loncar stressed and pointed out the need for this opportunity to be taken in the right way.

He pointed to the "danger from the present economic polarization which practically shuts the majority of mankind out of international economic trends".

"Burdened with debts, a drain of raw materials and unfavourable commercial conditions, the developing countries are unable to take advantage of the economic growth recorded by the developed", stressed Loncar in his speech at the "Group of 77" ministerial session.

Loncar Meets PLO, Other Envoys

LD2809221988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] United Nations, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—The current United Nations General Assembly session is being held in favourable international conditions, and the role and effectiveness of the world organization is growing, it was assessed during Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar's talks today and yesterday with his counterparts from European countries, Brazil and Israel, and head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Political Bureau Faruq Qaddumi.

The foreign ministers Loncar met showed great interest in plans to modernize the Nonaligned Movement in new international conditions. Special significance was accorded to the fact that Yugoslavia will have an exceptional role in this task as the host of next year's nonaligned summit in Belgrade and subsequently as chairman of the Movement.

The unanimous assessment in Loncar's talks with foreign ministers of European countries—France, Sweden, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Cyprus—was that all conditions have been created for the imminent completion of the current [word indistinct] of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Middle East crisis was the chief topic of the separate talks Loncar conducted with the PLO's Faruq Qaddumi and Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres. Despite the differences expressed during the Loncar-Peres meeting, both sides pointed to the usefulness of such contacts and discussions.

EEC Member Countries Protest Romanian Plans

AU2709163188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] At the CSCE follow-up conference held in Vienna, the EEC member countries expressed their concern about the so-called resettlement plan in Romania. Ambassador Evangelos Frangulis, head of the Greek delegation, informed the plenary meeting of 23 September about the position of the 12 EEC countries.

He pointed out that several delegations at the Vienna conference have already expressed their concern in this matter and that the EEC member countries have already taken joint diplomatic steps in Bucharest, but the results had not met their expectations. Representatives of the EEC countries also listened to the explanations submitted by the Romanian delegation about the goals of the Romanian Government and about the concepts on the basis of which the Romanian Government formulated this plan. Despite this, uncertainty continues to prevail on what has been done so far and what is expected in the implementation of this program.

Conveying the opinion of the 12 EEC member countries, the head of the Greek delegation pointed out that the implementation of the Romanian plan could damage the preservation of cultural heritage and would seriously threaten the respect for human rights. Therefore, the EEC countries repeatedly call upon the Romanian authorities to consider these actions.

Alia Receives Algerian, Nepalese Ambassadors
AU2609201888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, today received Mohamed Lemkami, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algerian to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony of the presentation of credentials was attended by Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Bashkim Dino, departmental director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Kostaq Cifliku, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [passage omitted]

Comrade Ramiz Alia received today also Dilli Raj Upreddy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Nepal to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials. [passage omitted]

Planning Chief Leaves for Bulgaria
AU2609164588 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 26 (ATA)—The chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari, who will participate in the opening of the Plovdiv International Fair at the invitation of the Minister of Economy and Planning of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Stoyan Ovcharov, left for Sofia on September 25.

Parliamentary Delegation Returns From Sofia
AU2609201288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] The delegation of the Albanian parliamentary group led by Eleni Selenica, which attended the 80th conference of the Interparliamentary Union in Sofia, returned today.

AWP Organ Reviews Alia Book on Hoxha
AU2709123988 Tirana ATA in English 0838 GMT 27 Sep 88

["The Albanian Press on Comrade Ramiz Alia's Book 'Our Enver'"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 27 (ATA)—All today's newspapers devote their editorials to Comrade Ramiz Alia's book "Our Enver," which came off press and was put to circulation recently on the eve of the 80th anniversary of the birth of the dear and unforgettable leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. This book expresses that profound feeling of respect, love, gratitude, that whole generations of socialist Albania have accumulated in heart and mind for the great leader and distinguished man the Albanian nation gave birth to.

The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries the editorial entitled "Great Homage to the Brilliant Deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha," which says among the other things: The work is another confirmation of the all-sided continuity of the party and people on the road of socialism according to the brilliant teachings of Enver.

The party, its leadership, the people, and Enver are and will be one and inseparable. The coherence of political-ideological thought of the party and of Enver Hoxha's polyhedric work pervades the book from back to cover. Enver's teachings make us proud of the road pursued, they are leadership for action. This is the message of the book.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's book constitutes an important event in the life of the party and our people. It is an expression of the great love and veneration for Enver, another testimony to the relevance and scientific farsightedness of his thought, an acknowledgement with fresh arguments of his historic and decisive role as founder of the party and forger of the people's power, as one of the great commanders of the Second World War and strategist of socialist construction, as a man who precedes the new developments in our transformed Albania, as an internationalist militant with valuable contribution to the cause of social progress, and as a famous Marxist thinker and master of dialectics.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's activity is universal. All the great transformations that have taken place in the social, economic, political, cultural and spiritual life of our country bear the seal of his innovative thought and his powerful personality as great Marxist-Leninist theoretician and revolutionary. If our party of labor wisely and farsightedly leads the people and homeland on the road of socialism, this is due to the education, tempering and moulding of the communists with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings. From page to page, from chapter to chapter, portraying Enver Hoxha, the author treats of almost all the culminating moments of our new history. Dwelling in particular on the critical situations the country has passed through, he enriches the historic science with original ideas and evaluations and puts the past in service of the time we are living in and the future. The reader finds in the book new facts and arguments which indicate that there is no important moment of the party's epic which has been solved and overcome without the presence and contribution of Enver Hoxha. There is no history of hers without the primary role of this great personality in the course of events.

In Comrade Enver Hoxha's figure, we find the image of the party's epic. This fusion of the events of history with the historic values of his personality, constitutes the general spirit of the work. It makes concrete the great affirmation of the party that Comrade Enver Hoxha,

with the decisive role he has played in every difficult situation the country has passed, made his name and its epoch one and indivisible. The time of the party is the time of Enver, of the creative implementation of his teachings and the uninterrupted development of socialism.

The book "Our Enver" by Comrade Ramiz Alia, is not dominated by the glance in retrospective. On the contrary: everything is seen with the eyes of the future, even when it is spoken of the first actions and struggle against illiteracy, the process of the country's industrialization or the agrarian reform, the collectivization or modernization of agriculture, the reform in educational system or other important moments which have gone down in history, the glance is directed toward the future.

The book reflects the idea that the defense of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the socialist countinuity cannot be realised without creativeness. Enver Hoxha was a great creator, innovator, who did not recognize schemes and patterns. The party can compensate the absence created by his loss only by cultivating the creative thinking and revolutionary initiative in its ranks and in the fold of the masses.

The new work of Comrade Ramiz Alia presents to the reader not only the political and ideological aspect of the figure of Enver Hoxha, but also his humanism. It is permeated by the essential idea that Enver was not an ordinary individual as for his ability, culture and knowledge he possessed, the intellectual power, the wisdom and system of work, but at the same time, he was too kind in his behavior, in the communication with the friends and the people. As the author expresses himself, he chose for himself always the position of the pupil toward the people and party. The social spirit in the links with the members of the party's leadership, collegial spirit in adopting the decisions, the warmth in the communication with the masses, are in the book not only a valuable affirmation, but also teachings for hereafter.

Through his book Comrade Ramiz Alia erects upon a pedestal the figure of Enver Hoxha. This is the pedestal where he is erected upon by the time, the extraordinary contribution he has given to the homeland and socialism.

On this occasion the newspaper "BASHKIMI" carries the editorial "In Steel Unity on the Road of Enver." It stresses that all history of our country over these decades of the struggle for freedom and socialism proved the strength and stability of Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist thought. It is for this reason that the party and people have made his lessons as their flesh and blood, herein stems the determination to march on this road, courageously coping with every difficulty and with firm confidence in the clear, ever more brilliant perspective. "Our road and Enver's road are one and indivisible. We pursue this road not to honour his name and for sentimental reasons either. We follow and will follow it, because it responds to the interests of the people and country's socialist development, because it orientates us to work better for the defense of the freedom and independence of the homeland, for the successful construction of socialism, for the prosperous future of the people. It is Enver Hoxha's merit that the road indicated by him to us today is the most right, the most tested.

Plenum on Agriculture Restructuring Planned

AU2709182088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] On 20 September 1988 the BCP Central Committee Politburo discussed a memorandum submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the further practical implementation of the July Concept in the restructuring of agriculture.

In view of the exceptional importance of the postulates and approaches developed in the memorandum for a new radical change in the development of our agriculture, the Politburo decided that the memorandum should be published for nationwide discussion, following which a plenum of the BCP Central Committee would be held at the end of October or beginning of November this year.

We will acquaint you with the contents of the memorandum in the central news bulletin of the Bulgarian Radio at 2030 hours [1830 GMT] and the central news program of the Bulgarian Television at 2000 hours. The full text will be published in tomorrow's newspapers.

Media's 'Great Role' in Glasnost Outlined

AU2809092788 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 26 Sep 88 pp 1, 4, 5, 6

[Document entitled "Basic Premises on the New Social Role of Mass Media, and the Status and Structure of the Press in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," "adopted by the BCP Central Committee Politburo in deciding the qualitatively new social role of the press": "Journalism Faces New Realities"—passages between slantlines published in larger print]

[Text] 1. /The documents of the 13th BCP Congress, the post-congress works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and especially the "Basic Premises of the Concept on Further Constructing Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," adopted by the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum, which outlined the BCP course toward a qualitatively new growth and profound revolutionary turning point in all spheres of our life, insistently highlighted the need for qualitative and far-reaching changes in the social role, status, structure, and comprehensive activity of the press and other mass media./

The BCP July Concept fully applies to the essence, principles and functions, organization, and further development of the information-propaganda system. Our journalism, loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deeply devoted to the cause of the party and socialism, today faces new realities, revolutionary changes, and professional-creative tasks. The analysis and practical implementation of these open a new page in the party platform of Bulgarian journalism.

The basic premises review the principled issues connected with the place and functions of our press under conditions of restructuring, with a view to bringing the press to new positions in society, and adapting its structure, as well as the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the editorial boards of the magazines and newspapers, to the new stage of our country's development.

The issue of enhancing the structure of the press in accordance with the development of our society's political system, within the framework of the problems faced by our press and in connection with the new social role of the mass media, emerges as one of the most important and pressing issues.

The social status and structure of the press directly depend on the level of social development. From this point of view, the current status and structure of the press reflect an earlier historical stage. Emerging under specific sociopolitical conditions, they were based on two principles that have already been rendered obsolete by social thought and practice and have become obstacles to the further growth of our press in everything related to its content, functions, and organization.

Those two principle are:

—the departmental approach to the organization of publishing, according to which each of our newspapers and magazines now belongs to a certain institution (organization, ministry, or department);
e publication is the organ of the leadership of the organization or department in question, which directly subjects the newspapers and magazines to direct administrative, financial, and cadre subordination to that leadership.

While these principles were justified immediately after the socialist revolution because they facilitated the construction of socialism and the administrative structures, now they contradict the premises of the July Concept on further constructing socialism in our country.

Without denying the past successes and merits of our press, among which, we must especially point out its devotion to the cause of the party and socialism, ideological consistency and firmness, inspired efforts to implement the April line, and creative achievements in many areas, one cannot ignore the problems that have accumulated and become an obstacle in its activity. These problems include:

—the unjustified proliferation of newspapers, magazines, and bulletins with uniform content;
—the duplication or similar nature of publications;
—a slow rate at which new themes are introduced;
—failure to adapt to the interests, needs, and level of the contemporary reader;
—lack of bold and original, creative initiatives and decisions;
—anachronistic methods and organization of editorial work;
—limited material-technical base, and so forth.

. /In his speech at the BCP Central Committee November 1987 Plenum, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that our mass media must assume new social positions, which will turn the media into institutions with new rights, duties, and responsibilities, based on the party principles, ideals, and ethics./

Under conditions of restructuring more than ever before, our press is called upon to be an instrument of renewal and serve the practical implementation of the party program by further asserting democracy in our society. At the same time, however, the mass media must restructure themselves today, in order to strengthen their role in ideological and political-educational activity, and in the entire intellectual life of our country. The readers are looking for accurate and strictly checked facts, serious and profound analyses, unconventional thoughts, and comparison of new ideas and decisions. They would like to see all that is valuable, all that the process of restructuring in our country has made popular. They hope to find all this in the pages of our magazines and newspapers. **Simultaneously, it is very important to be specific about the ways of achieving results; criticize weaknesses and shortcomings in a principled, well-founded, and constructive way; and form and direct public opinion in the right direction.**

The revolutionary time of restructuring really affords new rights to our journalism. Under the conditions of asserting comprehensive democracy in our society, the mass media have a great role to play in further developing and expanding glasnost. **The consolidation of glasnost in our social life is directly related to the work of the press.** In practice this means:

—to place the activity of all organs, without exception, under public control;

—to boldly uphold the issues of restructuring and subject them to critical scrutiny from the position of principle;

—to place man as the object of restructuring and its constant driving force in the center of our attention.

Simultaneously, the atmosphere of democracy and glasnost cannot serve as a cover for attempts to monopolize the truth or assume the "privilege" of issuing subjective verdicts or unwarranted and subjective evaluations on the part of the press, television, and radio. **Glasnost requires the mass media and all those involved with it to maintain a high sense of civic responsibility and observe the principles of communist ideology, professional ethics, and morals.** It also requires competence, truthfulness, respect for human dignity, strict observance of the right of those criticized to defend themselves, and that various areas of social life be discussed in a highly civilized manner.

The dramatic nature of restructuring and care to implement the July decisions must be at the center of the mass media's attention under conditions of restructuring. A sound intellectual and moral public atmosphere must be created, and a sense of engagement and social optimism must be instilled in the people, especially our young people.

A law on the press must be prepared and adopted in order to provide for legal guarantees for the development of glasnost and the successful functioning of the mass media under conditions of socialist democracy. This law must apply to all the mass media—television, radio, book publishing, photopropaganda, videopropaganda, and so forth, and embrace all things connected with the functioning of the propaganda-information system, such as the establishment and discontinuation of a particular medium, the status of the mass media in society, their rights and responsibilities related to their new role in society, mutual relations with publishers and readers, and so forth.

The work related to preparing the law on the press must be accompanied by serious scientific research in the sphere of the mass media. The Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education and the Union of Bulgarian Journalists must draw up measures for integrating the activity of the scientific research units in the sphere of journalism and developing efficient cooperation among them.

3. /The changes in the social status and role of the mass media and the turning point in developing our press under the conditions of restructuring in accordance with the premises and decisions of the BCP Central Committee July and November Plenums and the BCP National Conference, must be implemented by closely involving the mass media themselves in the system of self-management./

At the same time, they have the task of not only illuminating the issues of self-management, but also actively cooperating in turning self-management into social practice. The new role of the mass media and their role in our society require that the principles of self-management fully apply to the activity of separate information institutes and publications, and to constructing mutual relations along the lines of "publication-publisher" and "publication-readers." Essential changes in the status of the mass media, the structure of the press, and the principles of its further development are necessary.

The newspapers and magazines will change from being organs of the central leaderships of the party, sociopolitical, and mass organizations, into organs of the organizations themselves.

This change means changes in:

—how the press organs are managed;
—the approach to working out the problems of the organization that publishes the newspaper, and its relations with the previous publisher (the committee);
—dealing with all cadre issues in the editorial boards related to both leading and executive cadres.

Thus, on the basis of historical experience, BCP traditions, and the need to democratize inner-party life and our entire society, the RABOTNICHESKO DELO daily and the journal NOVO VREME become the press organs of the BCP itself. They implement a constant and organic contact between the party's leading organs at various levels, the primary party organizations, and individual Communists, between the party and the people. **They are an all-party and all-people tribune of party policy,** and constitute a daily and direct link between the theory and social practice of the country's socialist construction.

The same approach must be applied to the press organs of sociopolitical, creative, and other organizations (the Fatherland Front, Bulgarian trade unions, Dimitrov Komsomol, and so forth).

The requirement to **expand the public basis of publications** must be observed in forming the structure of the press. Newspapers such as LITERATUREN FRONT and NARODNA KULTURA, and magazines such as SEPTEMVRI, IZKUSTVO, BULGARSKA MUZIKA, and so forth, must be freed from the administrative tutelage of the departments and unions that publish them, and become independent publications for literature and the arts, directed not toward departmental activity, but toward the essence of the creative practice and processes. Such a model is closer to the world experience and our own national tradition.

In accordance with the premises of the BCP Central Committee July and November Plenums, the newly created oblast newspapers must be organs of the oblast party organizations and the lower level territorial self-managing communities—in other words, of all municipalities on the territory of the relevant oblast. In the same vein, the municipal newspapers must become the organs of the municipal party organization and the self-managing municipality, the enterprise newspapers—organs of the enterprise party organization and the self-managing labor collective.

4. /The new requirements related to the role and status of mass media in society under the conditions of restructuring in our country determine the need for a qualitatively new change in the structure of the press. Only by having the structure of the system of publications conform with the new level of our society and guaranteeing that the press deals even more closely with the problems of life and the topical issues of our social development can we ensure that newspapers, magazines, and other mass media are raised to truly new social positions./

The current structure of the press, which was formed during the years after the victory of the socialist revolution and really expanded from a qualitative and quantitative point of view mainly during the decades after the BCP Central Committee April 1956 Plenum, is sufficiently well developed. Some 375 newspapers (61 of them central and 314 regional), 239 magazines, and more than 600 bulletins are now being published in our country.

However, certain proportions, insofar as theme groups and readers' interest are concerned, have become unbalanced. Certain spheres are oversaturated with uniform information. Bulgaria occupies a leading place among the socialist countries insofar as the relative proportion of periodical, multithematic, sociopolitical, and branch publications is concerned. There are also sufficient scientific and applied science publications. There is, however a shortage of popular magazines and newspapers, which describe in ordinary and understandable language the problems of the country's socioeconomic development, international economic relations, and the achievements and problems of the humanitarian sciences. We do not have enough publications in the areas of personal self-improvement, hobbies, daily life and leisure, entertainment, and special interests. It is also necessary to change the structure of the publications for readers abroad.

The review of the structure of the press is also necessary because of the fact that **today, while television and radio are developing strongly, the place and tasks of newspapers and magazines in the comprehensive system of the mass media are changing.** Taking the specific characteristics of the individual information propaganda means into consideration will help them to complement each other with a view to enriching and more skillfully directing ideological activity.

The changes in the structure of the press and in the organization of the editorial-publishing activity must be implemented on the basis of the following principled premises:

—overcoming the departmental approach to publishing newspapers, magazines, and bulletins;

—eliminating duplication of topics;

—expanding the range of topics by creating publications which will fill up the existing "blank spaces" in the contact with readers, and develop specific directions for issues and topics;

—restructuring the organization of the mass media on the basis of self-management, by applying economic levers and mechanisms in publishing;

—discontinuing certain publications whose further existence is unjustified from the viewpoint of economic profit and the prudent use of resources.

However, to date, the attempts "from the top" to impose the closing of certain publications which have an insufficient ideological effect, yet are subsidized by the state, have proved to be unsuccessful. The answer to the question of new ways of structuring the press was included in the report of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee November 1987 Plenum: "We

must take bold steps and give the self-managing communities the right to decide not only what organs will be established 'above' them, but also what newspapers, magazines, and other publications they will have."

5. /The changes in the structure of the press aim to eliminate duplication of publications, eliminate the uniform way of dealing with topics and problems in newspapers and magazines which have different purposes and groups of readers, achieve a greater ideological effect, and utilize the present cadre, material-technical, and financial resources of the press in a much more efficient manner./

The image of the **mass political daily newspaper**—a newspaper with an informative and, at the same time, specific issue- and commentary-oriented character, which does not repeat the news disseminated by radio and television, but presents this to the reader in an enriched manner, accompanied by analysis, commentary, and forecast—will emerge more clearly by decreasing the number of daily newspapers. The role of the political daily newspaper as a tribune of self-management has evolved under conditions of restructuring. Such a newspaper must inform the people about the social creativity of the working people in all areas of social life, publicize the new factors, and facilitate their transformation into mass practice.

Some of the daily newspapers must become **specialized dailies**, which will devote more space to issues which closely affect their readers, at the expense of general political and official articles.

The central weekly newspapers must better express their specific character in accordance with the orientation of their topics and interests, and must eliminate the repetition of material published by the dailies, especially official information, adapt themselves to the different aspects of the human personality, and search for their own specific character and their place in the great cause of renewal. They must deal with issues of a more lasting character and outline trends in the development of events.

The oblast newspapers must not copy the former okrug newspapers, but must mainly focus their attention on the strategic issues which are being solved in the new administrative-territorial complexes, the integration of social services to the population, and so forth. They must reduce to a minimum the publication of information of an international and internal political character, which is dealt with in the central press, more broadly reflect the problems of the relevant oblast, and print advertisements in order to support themselves independently.

The municipal newspapers must facilitate the transformation of the municipalities into vital self-managing communities as well as educate the people as the real managers of relevant territories, with the ensuing rights and duties, by devoting greater attention to the socialist worker and his daily problems and joys.

It is right to supply paper and printing equipment to those municipal weeklies and dailies of labor collectives which are being published in the former okrug centers, and in municipalities with long-standing traditions in publishing newspapers, such as Kazanluk, Samokov, Sevlievo, and so forth. The publishers of the other municipal and enterprise newspapers can sign contracts with the printing houses to receive printing services. The newsprint so far supplied to those newspapers must be given to the oblasts and municipalities and must be used to publish "small" newspapers or to increase the circulation of the oblast newspapers.

In such cases, the publication of enterprise and municipal newspapers will be decided by the self-managing communities (municipal and labor collectives). The BCP Oblast Committee and Oblast People's Council must coordinate the decision and register the newspaper in line with the established rule. A sufficient supply of newsprint, trained journalists, and self-financing, without the use of state subsidies, as well as the ensuring of the weekly publication of the newspaper, must be obligatory conditions for newspaper publishing.

Self-managing territorial communities should more consistently ensure the self-support of their publications.

The reorientation of the press from departmental to reader's interests requires considerable **changes** in the topics and **structure of magazines as well.** The requirements in this respect run along numerous lines, such as:

—magazines which have exhausted their possibilities and no longer conform to the contemporary readers' needs should be closed down;
—similar or duplicating publications should merge;
—mass popular magazines should be established to cover the newly emerging needs for socioeconomic development in our country, and deal with priority subjects pertaining to our social life, such as foreign policy, history, the individual's personal problems, dissemination of scientific knowledge, and so forth;
—new magazines should be established dealing with the people's everyday life under present-day conditions, for recreation and entertainment, magazines for interior decoration, gardening, and so forth;
—new illustrated magazines dealing with political, social, and cultural subjects should be introduced.

The sub-system of bulletins should be resolutely restricted, since quite a great number of bulletins are published in our country. Financial resources and paper provided by the respective publisher should be used in publishing bulletins. They should be published only for administrative, scientific-technical, and bibliographic information.

Proposals on new publications should be submitted on the basis of decisions adopted by the collective organs in self-managing organizations and communities, and on the basis of preliminary quotas guaranteeing their financial, material, and printing, as well as cadre, and other resources.

Copyrights for periodicals should be granted through the "Bulgarian Book and Press" trade economic trust. All periodicals which are established according to standards set up by the state and published in our country's territory are subject to obligatory registration. Control over the standardization of publications should be intensified.

6./The new approach to the task of fully adapting the structure of the press to self-management requires that we assess the needs of self-managing communities and pay greater attention to the influence of the readers' interests, and that we introduce a totally new way of organizing publishing activities in the sphere of periodicals./

One of the most backward sectors in the past development of our periodicals was the organization of publishers' work. The prevailing organizational form in our country—a separate, independent, editorial board for each publication—requires a large staff, even for a small amount of work. This is a rather ineffective form of organization as far as the use of manpower, material, and financial resources is concerned.. It results in duplication of topics, deviations from the purpose of the publications, and shop-work type isolation. Such a form of organization does not encourage the introduction of modern technical equipment and technology into the editorial-publishing process.

Considerable experience has been accumulated in the socialist countries in regard to the modern organization of publishing and, to put it more precisely, this means a **concentration of periodical publications in larger publishing units**—such as joint publishing houses for books and periodicals, specialized publishing houses for periodicals, and others. They are based on cost accounting, with their own production and social funds, and independent bank accounts.

The concentration of publications (or associations of publishers) will resolve the problem of the "publisher-publication" relationship in a more favorable manner. It is a prerequisite for cutting down expenditures, since joint service units can be established and more financial resources can be concentrated in one place, so that centralized management will contribute to an improvement of technical equipment for editorial board offices—such as the introduction of computers, terminals, modernization of data banks, and so forth. Part of the profits obtained from the publications should be used for the development of the publications themselves and to improve material-technical equipment.

The expansion of publishing activities in the periodicals field will improve mutual relations between editorial boards and printing shops, as well as control over the quality of publications and expenditures of resources. It will also be easier to coordinate in the policy related to subjects and circulation. Last, but not least, relations with consumers and with readers will improve as a result of this.

The merging of periodicals in periodical publishing houses can be carried out according to the nature and topics of the publications, and according to the range of the readers' interests.

The editorial boards of periodicals (as well as other forms of associations) will act as independent, self-managing organizations (enterprises). The publishers should exercise control over their activities through the executive editors' and publishers' councils, and through other collective organs. The managers of such publishing houses for periodicals will be elected by these collective organs, while all other leading cadres will be directly elected by the editorial collectives of newspapers, periodicals, and publishing houses.

In all circumstances, the editorial boards of the individual publications participating in such associations will preserve their relative, creative independence, and with their editorial boards, as well as their chief editors, they will be responsible for the scientific, artistic, and ideological content of the future newspapers and periodicals.

Such publishing houses can also be established in oblasts on the basis of the principle of associations among different publishers and printing shops for the publication of oblast, municipal, and enterprise newspapers, yearbooks, bulletins, and other press materials. In the initial period this form of organization should be introduced as an experiment in one of the oblasts at the initiative of the "Bulgarian Book and Press" state economic trust.

Self-management in the editorial work of periodicals requires that questions of structure pertaining to newspapers and magazines be resolved within the framework of publishing houses specializing in periodicals. This will contribute to overcoming the administrative approach in settling questions of press structure.

Nevertheless, we need a specific deadline for the introduction of the new organizational forms of work in publishing newspapers and periodicals, owing to which the **consolidation of the new approach for the formation and management of the press structure should be accomplished in two stages:**

The first stage—namely the changes envisaged for 1989—should be accomplished in accordance with the current experience, which means that specific proposals should be submitted on which the BCP Central Committee Secretariat is expected to adopt a decision.

The second stage—from 1990 on—envisages that the changes in the structural and dimensional elements of newspapers and periodicals should be determined by the publishers themselves, following the implementation of a fundamental change in the organization of publishing activities in the press sector. For this purpose the development of publishing houses for press organs (publishing complexes, publishing centers, and publishing houses) should begin as of March 1989, while the respective state and social organs are expected to compile a code of regulations for their operation.

By 30 June 1989 the publishers, in cooperation with the newly established publishing houses for press organs, should comprehensively review and reassess the previously published newspapers and magazines in the spirit of the requirements contained in the present document, and implement the necessary changes (such as closing down, merging, and establishing new press organs).

7. /It is necessary, on the basis of self-management, to adopt a new editorial model for different types of press publications. The model should take into account the new status of the publications, as well as the requirements for the effective involvement of cadres in all aspects of editorial activities./

It is no secret that the staffs of editorial boards in numerous central newspapers and magazines are excessively inflated. On the one hand, this limits the opportunity for independent, creative performance for the majority of journalists while, on the other, it leads to constant demands from publishers and editorial boards for an increase in the volume of publications. This produces a strange sort of vicious circle which cannot be broken unless we completely change the organization of editorial work in regard to press publishing. It is necessary to develop scientifically based norms for the staff of individual editorial boards and information propaganda institutions, which should operate by means of the efficient use of the levers of the newly established wage system for journalists. Thus, through the implementation of structural changes in the press sector, and by strictly observing the legal instructions for the timely pensioning of journalists, a 30-percent reduction of staff in mass media press organs can be achieved. Along with this, a minimum limit for the number of personnel on the payroll, guaranteeing high quality publishing work, should be established.

New forms of editorial structure should be tested and more boldly introduced in organizing the work of editorial boards of newspapers and magazines. Dynamic editorial units, purpose-oriented, creative collectives and so forth are required. The call for a timely retirement of journalists for the purpose of recruiting young and energetic editorial workers should be consistently implemented, and the principle of competition should be applied in order to employ creative workers on a contract basis for a certain period of time. The periodic certification of cadres based on principle is likely to contribute to an objective evaluation of journalistic work and the professional and creative development of young people in the sphere of the mass media.

It is required that the new system of journalists' wages be used in an efficient manner in order to stimulate their creative spirit and their quest for innovations.

8. /As self-managing collectives, the editorial boards or groups of editorial boards which have merged in one form or another, should work according to the regulations on economic cost accounting and in conformity with the application of the economic approach. The basic principle in press publishing activities should be that publications be self-supporting./

This means that we should promote a policy of basing all publications upon the principle of self-support, without any subsidies from anyone whatsoever. The price and circulation of newspapers and magazines should be established on this basis.

An understanding of real production costs, as well as the urgent need to overcome the present considerable delays in the modernization of the editorial-publishing process and the development of the publications, require additional measures to stabilize the economic base of the press organs.

Following the adoption of the documents on the application of economic mechanisms in the intellectual sphere, specific rules should be developed for the mass media whereby measures for the application of the economic approach in the work of editorial board collectives should be established.

The publication of advertisements and announcements in the press satisfies the need for important social information. However, under the new conditions, advertisements also represent a considerable source of income for the editorial boards. It is required to **encourage the publication of necessary advertisements** while, at the same time, the Bulgarian Journalists Union and the "Bulgarian Book and Press" trade economic trust should submit new rates for advertisement fees in the newspapers, magazines, and other press organs to the Ministry of the Economy and Planning for approval. It is logical to end the monopoly of the "BULGARREKLAMA" economic trust on the collection of advertisements ready for publication. This privilege should be granted to the editorial boards themselves and the Bulgarian Journalists Union.

A comprehensive review of the retail prices of press publications is required. A common approach to setting prices should be adopted. Today the picture is extremely varied. In certain cases economic factors prevail, while in others considerations of an ideological nature are observed, owing to which the price of the publication rarely corresponds to the quantity and quality of the

reading matter. Raw material costs and costs for consumer material [konsumativnite materiali] have increased in recent years, which should also be reflected in the prices of newspapers. It would be expedient to revise the prices of press publications with a view toward adjusting them as early as the beginning of 1989. It is necessary to adopt a new rate for printing services and products, and to review, as well as update the rate of discounts in press distribution.

It would be correct for the enterprises directly engaged in services for the ideological sphere (in connection with printing and distributing press organs) to be granted tax concessions on account of their specific activities.

9. /The questions of the material base in the press sector are closely connected with the structural problems. At the present stage of development, the amounts of paper available and the state of printing equipment present considerable obstacles to the development of newspapers and magazines in our country and seriously obstruct the solution of the most crucial problem—the insufficient circulation of basic publications that are in great demand./

Parting from the contemporary trends of development in scientific-technical progress, parting from the requirement of better satisfying the readers' interests with high-quality and topical press publications, and in view of the financial and raw material resources in our country, it would be expedient to **develop the material-technical base of the press along the following lines:**

—The production of central daily newspapers should be concentrated in two newspaper complexes: The RABOTNICHESKO DELO printing and publishing complex and the Dimitur Blagoev state printing house. It is urgently required, by the end of 1988, to develop and fully specify the production program of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO complex so as to take advantage of its production-technical possibilities. In 1988-89 the "Bulgarian Book and Press" trade economic trust should develop and adopt a draft on the reconstruction and modernization of the Dimitur Blagoev printing house, which should be implemented during the next 5-year plan period, and this should be the second offset printing base for the production of newspapers.

—The newspaper production of oblast and municipal dailies should gradually be concentrated in the oblast printing centers, taking into consideration certain factors such as specialized printing centers in Veliko Turnovo, and Turgovishte, the satisfactory state of technical equipment in Ruse, and others. In the period up to 2000 the oblast printing centers will introduce offset equipment and electronic photosetting systems.

—The production of magazines and bulletins according to their circulation and colorprinting should be concentrated in a number of specialized centers. As for illustrated mass-circulation magazines, within the coming 2-3 years a multicolor offset printing machine should be provided, and technological opportunities for a drastic improvement in the quality and operational efficiency of pre-printing processes should be created.

The present quantity of newsprint is insufficient by any means. In order to create conditions of free circulation for newspapers, which is very important from the viewpoint of the interests of ideological activity, it is necessary to do the following:

—The "Pulp and Paper" economic trust must develop and implement a comprehensive program of reducing the weight of paper;

—The "Bulgarian Book and Press" trade economic trust must conduct a comprehensive review of the use of newsprint for nonessential purposes [aktsidentsiya] and book publishing. Such newsprint must be gradually replaced by the "Pulp and Paper" economic trust with printing and writing paper.

—All consumers—editorial boards, publishing houses, printing houses and departments must adopt measures for the more efficient and prudent use of the paper with which they have been supplied;

—The issue of importing an additonal 5,000 tonnes of newsprint must be raised while signing the long-range agreement with the USSR for the period from 1991 to 1995;

—The efforts of publishers to use their own foreign currency for importing paper and materials for developing their publications must be encouraged;

—Paper and materials must be supplied by using the profits from marketing publications in foreign markets;

At present, the organs of the "Communications" Association are distributing a much greater quantity of newspapers and magazines than in the past. **However, many shortcomings of an objective and subjective character are negatively affecting the distribution of periodicals.** The supply of the daily press is not always provided within the shortest possible period. Occasionally the newspapers are reaching readers one or more days after their publication.

The reasons for these and other shortcomings are found both in the irregular printing of the newspapers (violation of the publication timetable), and in the insufficient material-base of distribution—transportation, mechanized dispatch departments, lack of personnel, and so forth.

The "Communications" Association, together with the Ministry of Economy and Planning, must introduce to the Council of Ministers specific proposals for quickly and decisively improving the material-technical base and supply of cadres to areas of activity related to the dissemination of newspapers. Simultaneously, it is

imperative to improve the contract arrangements in relations between the "Press Dissemination" state enterprise, the editorial boards, and printing houses.

In order to improve the work related to distributing newspapers and overcome the existing monopoly of the "Press Dissemination" state enterprise, **the issue of uniting the efforts of all factors affected by this activity could be discussed.** This includes editorial boards, printing houses, the "Bulgarian Book and Press" trade economic trust, the RABOTNICHESKO DELO complex, the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, the "Press Dissemination" state enterprise, and so forth, which in the way of an association or in any other appropriate manner must solve the basic issues related to the dissemination of newspapers, magazines, and bulletins. By searching for new ways of distributing the newspapers it must be established whether the editorial boards and press publishing houses, as well as cooperatives of citizens, could not distribute the newspapers in future.

The possibility of publishing certain daily newspapers in two editions—morning and evening—must be studied.

It is necessary to strictly observe the complete voluntary principle. The practice by social organizations and various departments—publishers, newspaper and magazine editorial boards, and the organs of "Press Dissemination"—of applying pressure during the subscription campaign in order to collect subscriptions for publications which are not in demand by the readers must stop once and for all. There must be no subscribing to magazines and newspapers with state and public funds when these magazines and newspapers are not directly connected to the official activity.

Party, public, and administrative bodies must be held responsible for violating these requirements. The financial organs must also ensure the strict observance of these requirements.

/The Leninist principle of the party's leadership of the press and the other mass media has been, and still remains, the foundation for the development of the information and propaganda system. Under the conditions of restructuring, the party leadership aims to encourage the creativity and initiative of the Communists working in the various information media and to establish greater rights and greater responsibilities for all journalistic cadres./

In accordance with the July Concept for the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it is appropriate that the Politburo and the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee should continue in the future to make pronouncements on basic problems concerned with matters of principle and relating to the development of the press and its structure. Questions concerning fundamental changes in the structure of the press should be submitted to the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee at the beginning of each 5-year-plan period, and the latter organ should discontinue the practice of annually reviewing changes in the circulations, sizes, and frequency of publication of newspapers and journals.

The principles relating to annual, partial changes in the press concerning individual publications should be submitted for discussion in the Intellectual and Ideological Commission of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, after which they should be adopted by the appropriate state organs.

All other issues connected with the publication of newspapers, journals, and bulletins should be decided by the newly created publishing organizations for the periodical press (publishing complexes, publishing centers, publishing houses, and so on), and agreed with the Ideological Policy Department of the BCP Central Committee and the competent state organs.

Today, our journalism needs convinced, tireless, inspired fighters for the cause of renewal more than ever. On the pages of newspapers and journals, competent, profound, erudite, and conscientious people, versed in the details of the problems with which our country and people are living, should enter into dialogue with the working people.

The question of the ideological-political, professional, and personal qualities of the cadres in the mass media becomes especially important precisely under the conditions of the implementation of restructuring and the further democratization of our social life. Communist conviction, competence, conscientiousness, and a high standard of human morality—these are the requirements that the party sets for both the leading figures in the press and all creative workers.

In accordance with the criteria and requirements of the July Concept, it is necessary for the BCP Central Committee **to develop a new system for the selection, training, and professional-creative qualification of the cadres in the mass media.** The role of the primary party organizations in the editorial collectives should be enhanced in order to carry out the restructuring of the mass media, because these organizations are called upon to be the strong political nuclei, generators of ideas and organizational energy. The BCP Central Committee Plenum on the problems of restructuring in the intellectual sphere confirmed the role and importance of the press and the other mass information media in implementing renewal, and outlined new prospects for their future work.

The rights, obligations, and responsibilities that our society is granting the press, as an important part of the political system of society in the process of renewal, open up a wide field for creativity and inspired constructive labor.

Atanasov Receives Moldavian Premier Kalin

AU2409145488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1530 GMT 23 Sep 88

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Ivan Kalin, chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

The questions of the two countries' national economies, the search for new approaches in solving new tasks, and the efforts to consolidate new economic regulators were the main issues discussed during their talks.

The two government leaders stated that favorable opportunities exist for expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and Moldavia. They pointed out the need to encourage direct relations between collectives and the establishment of joint enterprises.

Georgi Atanasov and Ivan Kalin reached an agreement that the competent organs in both countries should prepare a joint program for the development of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation within an undetermined period of time.

Joint Committee Begins Meetings With Iraq

JN2609134988 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0850 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia, 26 Sep (INA)—The meetings of the joint Iraqi-Bulgarian committee for economic, technical, and trade cooperation began here today. The Iraqi side in this committee is headed by Karim Hasan Rida, minister of agriculture and irrigation. The Bulgarian side is headed by Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The committee will discuss aspects of bilateral cooperation in the economic fields and ways to promote them.

In another development, Karim Hasan met with Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Andrey Lukanov and the electronic industry minister. Ways to expand bilateral cooperation were discussed.

Government Orders 2 UK Officials From Republic

LD2809153988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] The British charge d'affaires, John Malcolm MacGregor, was invited to the Foreign Ministry in Prague today. He was informed that the air attache, Wing Commander John James Maynard, and the assistant military attache, Warrant Officer Graham Addy, were carrying out activities incompatible with the status of a diplomatic mission in Czechoslovakia and that they must therefore leave our territory within 2 weeks. A protest was also conveyed to the British charge d'affaires against this activity by the two British Embassy staffers which goes against the interests of constructive relations between Czechoslovakia and Britain and is an obstacle to their further development.

At the same time it was said that despite this, Czechoslovakia will continue to strive for the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with Britain.

Further on Visit of CPSU's Biryukova

Tours Bratislava Enterprises

AU2709092088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "A. Biryukova Among the Working People"]

[Text] Bratislava—Accompanied by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Mikulas Beno, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Aleksandra Biryukova, who is paying a working visit to the CSSR, acquainted herself with the activity of organizations that provide services to the people on Thursday [22 September]. The inspection tour was attended by Petr Kostikov, USSR consul general in Bratislava.

In the municipal and cooperative markets she expressed interest in the types and forms of services provided there to the populace by socialist organizations and by consumer and production cooperatives. She spoke with female employees from the Ruzinov department store in Bratislava's second district about the proportion of goods manufactured by production cooperatives in the overall turnover, as well as about the organization of special clearance sale inventories.

Afterwards, Aleksandra Biryukova paid a visit to the Slovak Union of Production Cooperatives. The employees of the union briefed her on, among other things, the direct relations with other enterprises of the Kozatex Bratislava production cooperative which, together with the Mukhacevo communal services enterprise, is setting up the Intergalko joint venture Intergalko in the USSR.

Aleksandra Biryukova acquainted herself with production in the the local economic enterprises in the Vkus made-to-order and repair enterprise of the city of Bratislava.

Comrade Aleksandra Biryukova left for Prague by air in the afternoon.

Meets With Jakes

AU2609173588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 88 p 1

["(Z)"-signed report: "On the Further Development of CPCZ-CPSU Relations; Comrade M. Jakes Receives Comrade A. Biryukova"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Aleksandra Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary who is currently visiting the CSSR, in Prague on Friday [23 September].

In a cordial and comradely talk they briefed each other on the course taken by the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the political system, and other aspects of social life in the two countries.

They also assessed certain topical issues of enhancing the effectiveness of cooperation in developing the consumer industry, particularly the provisions for the production and delivery of new technologies and techniques via cooperation and specialization, the establishment of direct relations, and the foundation of joint enterprises. In this context it was stressed that it is necessary to consistently implement the conclusions of the 44th CEMA session.

The reception was also attended by Mikulas Beno and Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretaries; and by Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

On the same day, A. Biryukova was received by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

Soviet Official Orlov Continues 'Official' Visit

Received by Jakes

LD2609172488 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today received Vladimir Orlov, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic, who is currently on an official friendly visit in Czechoslovakia.

Also present was Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Czech National Council Chairman Josef Kempny.

The cordial comradely discussion focused on some questions of the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the 7th and 9th Sessions of the Czechoslovak Party's Central Committee and the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference, and on the implementation of the intentions of restructuring and democratization of social life in both fraternal countries. Attention was paid to the improvement of the functions of the political system so as to enhance the socialist self-government of the people and intensify the activity and economic independence of the national committees in Czechoslovakia and the Soviets in the USSR.

It was appreciated that prerequisites have been created for the dynamic development of cooperation between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic.

Milos Jakes and Vladimir Orlov also discussed some topical issues of international political development.

Later today Vladimir Orlov, heading a delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Republic, was received by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak.

In a cordial discussion they appreciated the level of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and stressed the benefit of personal meetings and exchange of experiences between the representatives of legislative assemblies making it possible to get to know better the life of the two countries' peoples and become acquainted with the results achieved in the implementation of economic reform, restructuring of the political system and promotion of socialist democracy.

Signs Agreement With Kempny

LD2709235488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, and Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, signed a joint declaration on the establishment of permanent contacts between the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Czech National Council in Prague today. Exchanges of delegations of deputies, exchanges of information and experience from the activities of both legislative bodies, and familiarization with the life of people, the social and economic development of the RSFSR and the Czech SR, and with the practical tackling of topical issues, will form the main content of the contacts and cooperation.

Departs for Home 27 Sep

LD2709235788 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] A delegation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet led by Vladimir Orlov, chairman of its Presidium, ended its official friendly visit to the CSSR this afternoon. The delegation was seen off at Ruzyne airport by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, and by other representatives.

Jakes Holds Talks With USSR's Razumovskiy

AU2709085288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Comrade M. Jakes Received Comrade Razumovskiy"]

[Text] Prague—In the presence of Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on Thursday [22 September] received Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the occasion of the latter's stay in the CSSR.

In a cordial, comradely talk they briefed one another on the course and the results of restructuring up to the present in their two countries. G. Razumovskiy emphasized the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July CPSU Central Committee plenum, which have become important stimuli for the further advance in the development and deepening of the process of restructuring and, in particular, the democratization of the political system in the USSR. He also provided information about the party's annual meetings.

Milos Jakes spoke about the experiences resulting from the realization of the resolutions of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions and addressed some topical issues of the CPCZ's activity, including the preparations for the October session of the Central Committee on issues pertaining to the party's ideological work.

In their coincidence of views they stressed the importance of the further activation of communists, party organizations, and all working people, as well as of the exchange of experience and findings from the work of the fraternal parties for the fulfillment of the set objectives of restructuring and democratization. They said that the high standard of cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU is valuable, and they expressed bilateral interest in comprehensively enriching and developing it further.

Kubasiewicz, PZPR Delegation Arrive in Prague

LD2509144388 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 25 Sep 88

[By PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, Sept. 24—A delegation of the party and administrative authorities of the Polish capital with PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau alternate member, First Secretary of the Warsaw PUWP Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz, chairman of the Warsaw People's Council

Mieczyslaw Szostak and President [mayor] of Warsaw Jerzy Boleslawski arrived here today to take part in the "Warsaw Days" beginning tomorrow.

The delegation held talks with the hosts of the Czechoslovak capital and acquainted themselves with the most important socio-economic problems of the city.

Kubasiewicz Meets With Jakes

LD2609171388 Prague CTK in English 1537 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Candidate Member of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo and First Secretary of the Party Warsaw Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz, who attended the opening ceremony of the Days of Warsaw in Prague on Sunday.

Milos Jakes and Janusz Kubasiewicz informed each other of the results achieved in the two parties' efforts to develop the process of restructuring the economic mechanism and extending socialist democracy in all spheres of social life.

The two representatives stressed the importance of the broad-ranging fraternal cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Poland in which their capitals play a significant role. They expressed satisfaction with the level and extent of mutual cooperation between Prague and Warsaw and discussed some topics of its extension, and laid emphasis on the need to develop direct relations between the two countries and other Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member states in the implementation of exacting social and economic programs.

Milos Jakes acquainted the guest with the preparations for the 10th Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Session and Janusz Kubasiewicz informed Milos Jakes of the development of the political situation in Poland and activation of party members in solving topical problems of the present.

Kucera-Led Delegation Departs for FRG

LD2609211088 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn Sept 26 (CTK correspondent)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, led by its chairman, Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera, arrived today for a visit to West Germany.

The delegation will meet with representatives of various groups of Bundestag members, members of the West German branch of the Pax Christi peace movement and other public officials.

Press Reports 'Disturbance' in Prague

AU2809125888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Disturbance [vytrznost] in Wenceslas Square"]

[Text] Prague—About 100 persons attempted to disrupt the public order in Wenceslas Square in Prague on Saturday [24 September] after 1800. They hoped to attract the attention of passing citizens and foreign tourists with their extravagant behavior.

The originators of the disturbance did not heed the repeated calls of representatives of state bodies to disperse, so members of the National Security Corps were compelled to intervene. By 1900 peace and order reigned on Wenceslas Square. Forty-seven citizens were brought to Public Security stations for further action.

Government Discusses CEMA, Joint Ventures

AU2609180488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Deliberations of the Federal Government; Program of Measures Providing for Czechoslovak Participation in Implementing the Collective Concept of the International Socialist Division of Labor; Draft Law on Enterprises Involving Foreign Capital; Activating Foreign Policy Toward States in Southeast Asia and the Southern Mediterranean"]

[Text] Prague—At its plenary session the CSSR Government discussed the report on provisions for the tasks following for Czechoslovakia from the resolutions adopted by the 44th CEMA Session and the 128th CEMA Executive Commission Session, both of which were held in Prague. The government then approved the schedule of work and measures providing for Czechoslovak participation in implementing the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor and in restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration during the first stage in the years 1988-90.

At the same time the government stressed that Czechoslovakia is vitally interested in developing socialist economic integration. In coping with this complicated set of tasks and individual partial issues we will seek the support of, and agreement with, those CEMA member countries which have the same degree of interest in this.

In an extensive discussion the government members expressed their views on the draft law on enterprises involving foreign capital. In addition to the adopted laws on state enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, housing, production, and consumer cooperatives, the law should establish the necessary legal and economic conditions for the activity of economic organizations with both a Czechoslovak and a foreign partner. The setting up of such enterprises should help us to reach the goals of

economic reform in Czechoslovakia and to develop economic relations with all states and firms which display appropriate interest. The draft law discussed and approved by the government protects important Czechoslovak interests while also meeting the foreign entrepreneurs' justified need to have legal and economic certainty. It is additionally consistently based on the principle of the economic autonomy of such enterprises.

Among other things, the draft law limits the possibility of endowing the enterprise with binding tasks (via the state plan or on the basis of contracting duty), releases it of the duty to offer its foreign currency means to the foreign currency bank for purchase, guarantees it foreign currency transfers to other countries, and stipulates that the foreign participant in the enterprise can have a majority share. To date the Czechoslovak legal code did not contain comprehensive legal provisions for this type of entrepreneurship on CSSR territory. The CSSR Government will submit the draft to the CSSR Federal Assembly for discussion.

The CSSR Government then dealt with proposals to activate our country's foreign policy toward the capitalist states in Southeast Asia and the southern Mediterranean, an area with an almost 300-million population, which is an important political and economic factor of international development. The government approved measures which will result in a higher level of CSSR diplomatic representation in Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines, and acknowledged that the costs connected with this will be defrayed by the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs within the framework of its budget and foreign currency plan.

The government expressed agreement with the CSSR's approach to the accord on the INMARSAT international naval satellite organization headquartered in London, which provides (via satellites) for the transmission of telephone and telex communications and of data on naval transport, with priority given to emergency and security messages. It will replace the present method of medium- and short-wave radio communications with Czechoslovak naval vessels via coastal and ship-based relay stations, which is obsolete and in many respects unreliable.

On the basis of provisions of the law on state enterprises (according to which the internal organization and management of the enterprise are the exclusive concern of this enterprise), the CSSR Government rescinded the appropriate resolutions or parts of resolutions instructing the enterprises and organizations to set up specific organizational sections and divisions. From the viewpoint of valid government resolutions, this applies (for instance) to power, economy, cadre, and staff sections, to the management of information systems, and to legal sections. The activities of these sections should continue to be provided for, but the enterprises should choose a form of organization that would meet their needs from the viewpoint of lowering manpower and wage costs.

Hoffmann Notes Party's Role in Restructuring

AU2609200088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Necessity of Combining Theory With Practice"]

[Text] Prague—Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met at two meetings on Tuesday [20 September] with groups of ranking personnel of state and social bodies, higher institutes of learning, and socioscientific institutions. At these meetings, in a frank, creative discussion, theoretical and practical issues were assessed pertaining to the implementation of the party's leading role and to the development of the political system under the conditions of restructuring and the democratization of society.

Stressed in this connection was the necessity and topicality of a close connection between theory and practice and the important role of institutions, which the participants in the meetings represent, in the process of the contemporary social changes. The meetings were attended by Jan Bouchal and Karel Urbanek, heads of CPCZ Central Committee departments.

National Trade Union Conference Opens 24 Sep

LD2509154388 Prague CTK in English 0025 GMT 24 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 24 (CTK)—A national conference of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement opened here today with 700 delegates, who represent almost eight million members of this largest mass organization in the country, taking part.

Present is a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and National Front led by Milos Jakes, Czechoslovak Communist Party general secretary.

The decision to convene the conference was taken by the 11th congress of the trade unions in spring 1987. The congress assessed the previous five-year period in the activity of trade unions but drew the conclusion that it had not yet been possible to clearly define their share in the process of restructuring and democratization of socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The holding of the two-day conference, a second in the history of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement founded in 1945, proves the importance of the restructuring and its impact on the role of trade unions.

The trade union conference will discuss topical tasks of the movement, take a stand on the draft for amendments to the labour code, approve necessary amendments to the statutes of the revolutionary trade union movement, and new principles for the development of the movement of brigades of socialist labour.

The opening report entitled "the tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement in the restructuring of society "was delivered by Miroslav Zavadil, chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium alternate member.

We are facing a really historical task—to develop in new conditions the bequest of the victory of the working people of Czechoslovakia over the forces of reaction in February 1948 which was attained also thanks to the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, chairman of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions and Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium Member Miroslav Zavadil said at the national trade union conference which opened here today.

Delivering a report of the Central Council of Trade Unions titled "The Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Restructuring of Society", Zavadil said that "we resolutely reject the voices of those who base their anti-socialist plan on the criticism of the achievements of February 1948 and who are trying to identify the present effort to improve socialism with the year 1968."

"Tackling new tasks we draw inspiration from the program of revolutionary restoration of the Leninist concept of socialism and democratization of society in the Soviet Union," Miroslav Zavadil said.

Speaking about Czechoslovakia's economic and social development, he said that intensification of the economy is not yet being applied as would be desirable and the deficit of the gross national income amounts to 28,000 million crowns in the first half of the 8th Five-Year Plan period (1986-1990). While last year it was assessed positively that measures in the social sphere were realized even though the plan was not fulfilled, it must be said now that they can no longer be realized at the cost of further economic development or foreign debt, Miroslav Zavadil stressed.

Neglect for the social interests, rights and needs of the working people, an indifferent and sometimes even belittling attitude to their requirements would be a serious political mistake challenging the sense of the restructuring and making harm to the prestige of socialism, Miroslav Zavadil went on.

Dealing with some problems of care of the working people, he said that effort has as yet failed to assert to the necessary degree the care of health taken by the society and the people themselves do not always adequately care of their own health. Czechoslovakia ranks among the best in the world in the per-capita number of doctors and hospital beds, but the situation in the sphere of enterprise health centres has not yet been stabilized and there is a lack of medium-level medical staffers. The resources spent on the health service do not correspond to the needs, Miroslav Zavadil stressed.

He noted that the statistics of injuries, especially those occurring outside workplaces, occupational diseases and the sickness rate on the whole are disquieting, and urged substantial strengthening of the role of trade unions in the sphere of security and protection of health at work.

Miroslav Zavadil said that trade unions regard it as their duty to take an active part in the creation and realization of ecological problems at all levels. The high cost of environmental protection cannot be a reason for lenient attitudes by economic bodies to these problems. "We expect the Czechoslovak Government to take measures for the program it adopted recently to be fulfilled more consistently than previous documents".

"A basis and necessary prerequisite of the restructuring of trade union activity must be its further democratization. Higher trade union bodies must do everything for greater independence of lower bodies and primary organizations. Connected with this is the necessity to promote the atmosphere of openness and collective decision-taking," Miroslav Zavadil pointed out.

He proposed that some discussed questions be jointly judged. This concerns the length of terms of office, possibility of more-candidate elections, direct elections of chairmen at meetings and conferences of primary organizations. The Central Council of Trade Unions recommends to discuss these, and possibly other suggestions at the nearest annual plenary meetings and conferences.

In conclusion of his speech, Miroslav Zavadil said that the successful fulfilment of the program of restructuring is also of great international political importance. It constitutes a valuable contribution to the further strengthening of socialism, elimination of the threat of a nuclear war, protection of peace, and safeguarding of social progress in the world. Czechoslovak trade unions will continue to cooperate mainly with the trade unions of the USSR and the other socialist countries, they will promote their activity in the World Federation of Trade Unions, and contribute to the strengthening of the action unity and solidarity of the international trade union movement.

The need to amend the labour code stems from the process of intensification of the Czechoslovak economy which has been started in the country, Czechoslovak Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Miloslav Boda said at the national trade union conference here today.

He noted that about 150,000 comments and suggestions have been made by individual citizens and work teams in the public discussion on the draft for amendments to the labour code. On their bases 36 provisions of the labour code have been amended or adjusted.

The amendments are to make easier mobility of the workforce, facilitate its rational distribution and effective use. They are also aimed at strengthening of working and technological discipline, more effective use of working hours, and improving of the protection of socialist property.

Under the draft for amendments to the labour code, organizations will independently decide about their wage policy. The draft also contains a number of amendments strengthening the social certainties of the working people which is projected also in the new act on social security. This concerns improvements in the pension system which will take effect October 1, Miloslav Boda said.

He noted that even in the new conditions of economic self-management, the rights of trade unions are retained, and in a number of cases they are adjusted and increased.

The Czechoslovak Government will deal with the stand of the national trade union conference on the draft for amendments to the labour code and will present the draft to the Federal Assembly, the supreme legislative body in Czechoslovakia, the minister said.

Conference Ends 25 Sep

LD2509174888 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 25 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—The two-day national trade union conference, which ended here today, endorsed the goals and quick realization of the process of restructuring and democratization of socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

The unified Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has a membership of almost eight million making it the largest mass organization in the country.

The national conference noted that since its 11th congress in spring 1987, the Czechoslovak Trade Union Revolutionary Movement has participated in the creation of and public discussion on the draft for a bill on state enterprise, in the creation of prerequisites for greater independence of work teams and increasing of their participation in management.

The national conference was convened to assess in a comprehensive way topical tasks of trade unions and to give new impulses to trade union work to the benefit of the restructuring of the economic mechanism as one of the decisive prerequisites of accelerating socio-economic development in Czechoslovakia.

The final resolution adopted by the almost 700 delegates present pointed to the necessity of developing the initiative share of members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the social restructuring, in introducing the new economic mechanism, and in defending the interests and rights of the working people.

The conference enjoined the Central Council of Trade Unions as the supreme body of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to take a decision at its nearest meeting on rationalization changes in the organizational structure of the movement which would lead to reducing the apparatus of trade union bodies.

In a separate resolution the conference gave support to the draft for amendments to the labour code which take into account the needs of the social and economic restructuring. The amendments will still be discussed before approval by the Federal Assembly, Czechoslovakia's supreme legislative body.

Present at the conference on both days was a delegation led by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary and Chairman of the National Front Milos Jakes.

Discontent With Organizational Restructuring

AU2609163088 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 September on page 3 carries a 4,000-word account, "prepared by Miloslav Vltavsky and Zdenek Hoffmann," of a roundtable discussion on experiences yielded by the "first stage of organizational restructuring," which ended on 1 July with the establishment of the first 412 state enterprises. Panelists are: Rudolf Balousek, employee of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Benes, deputy chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development; Karel Cap of the Office of the Government Presidium; Jan Motl, employee of the Central Trade Union Council; Eliska Rohlova, deputy minister of industry of the Czech SR; and Julius Turon, deputy chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development.

In their opening statements, the panelists assess the first stage of organizational restructuring, often expressing dissatisfaction with its results. Benes deplores, for instance, that too little attention was devoted to the assessment of plants' and enterprises' individual proposals for independence and that "in some sectors, 60 to 80 percent of them were turned down." He suggests that even the rejected applications for independence should be reconsidered "lest we disappoint collectives at the very outset of restructuring."

Similarly, Cap deplores the fact that the first stage of restructuring has done little for the needed diversification of organizational structures in Czechoslovak industry, as the newly established state enterprises tend to be giant firms with several thousand employees. He points out that the average size of enterprises under the federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, for instance, has even increased—from 3,500 to 7,800 employees—and that, contrary to original intentions, only two plants in the sector were converted into state enterprises. Cap is seconded by Benes, who says: "we are somewhat concerned that, contrary to the assignment formulated by the federal government and

permitting a wide spectrum of organizational forms, we could end up replacing the current uniformity of organizational structures with a new uniformity." Benes notes, for example, that little use has so far been made of new organizational forms, such as tie-ins or joint stock companies.

Balousek criticizes the fact that many proposals for organizational changes were marked by "personal approaches" and sought "self-serving decentralization or centralization," rather than the creation of a structure that would ensure an efficient functioning of the economy.

Asked whether "departmental approaches" were overcome in the first stage of organizational restructuring, several panelists deplore the fact that this was not the case. Cap, for example, points out that none of the newly established state enterprises has been formed out of organizations formerly run by different ministries. He adds: "Basically, we have conserved the existing structure, and it is possible that we have created a state of affairs which we will later deplore. People from the new state enterprises come and tell us: had we known how things would turn out, we would have submitted individual proposals. They say this because, in principle, nothing has changed in their enterprises. They operate just as they used to, but they only do so under a new nameplate. Even in-house economic accountability has not been worked out, in fact." Cap also says that, although under the law on state enterprises structural units of a state enterprise can no longer submit individual proposals for becoming independent once a state enterprise has been established, "something will have to be done about this in some cases."

In their remaining replies, the panelists dwell on, among other things, the merits of some novel organizational forms (such as voluntary associations of independent state enterprises for designated activities and projects), discuss the need to simplify administrative procedures to facilitate the operation of small state enterprises, and review procedures that guarantee the party's "leading role" in decisions on organizational structures and on cadre issues in the new state enterprises.

Mochovce Nuclear Power Plant Behind Schedule

AU2609115988 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Problems With Adherence to the Timetable at Mochovce"]

[Text] Mochovce (CTK)— Unprepared building schemes, problems with securing deliveries, and, in particular, a shortage of professionals at the building site are the main causes of the fact that, evidently, the deadline set for putting the first unit of the Mochovce nuclear power into trial operation will not be met. This was stated by representatives of the Ministry of Construction and Building Industry of the Slovak SR and of the Hydrostav Bratislava national enterprise, the general contractor, at a news conference at Mochovce yesterday. A building volume worth over Kcs1.3 billion is to be completed at all four units of the power station by the end of this year. So far, builders have realized almost 60 percent of this volume. The irregularity of finishing jobs and irregular deliveries of technological equipment constitute a problem. There are shortcomings, for example, in the supply of stainless steel materials by the Kralove Pole Engineering Works in Brno. The shortage of high-voltage and low-voltage cables and of switchboards slows down the completion of the electrical network. At the same time, the Mochovce power station is to be the first nuclear power station in a CEMA country with a completely automated control system of technological operation. The chief aim of the system, which will be supported by more than 2,500 computers, is to enhance nuclear safety.

Briefs

Protocol With Mongolia

A protocol on mutual deliveries of goods and on payments between the CSSR and Mongolia in 1989 was signed in Prague on 20 September. The protocol envisages CSSR exports of equipment for the tanning, footwear, and textile industries; diesel aggregates, buses, medical equipment, chemicals, medicines, and various types of consumer goods. Mongolia will deliver to the CSSR, in particular, copper and tin concentrates, fluorite, raw materials of animal origin, fur and leather products, carpets, and textile products. [Summary] [*AU2609195488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

Honecker Cables Jaruzelski en Route to USSR

LD2709212188 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 27—Flying over the territory of Poland on his way to the USSR, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany CC and GDR's chairman of the Council of State Erich Honecker sent a cable to PUWP CC first secretary and president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The message contained cordial greetings and wishes for the Polish nation.

Moscow Criticizes Poor GDR Product Quality

AU2909104588 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Sep 88 p 8

[Werner Kahl report: "Anger in Moscow About Bad GDR Quality"]

[Text] Bonn/Moscow—Yesterday at the largest industrial exhibition staged in Moscow by the GDR since it was founded, SED chief Erich Honecker presented top-level electronics, a considerable part of which has been developed—in the view of experts—through espionage in the FRG and other Western countries. Soviet functionaries laughed at a computer caricature in the September edition of the East Berlin satirical magazine EULENSPIEGEL. Under the headline "World Mystery" a GDR engineer explains the advantages of a GDR superchip to an interested client: "All the scientific knowledge of our time is stored on this chip. The mystery, however, is: How do we retrieve it?"

Honecker's visit has been accompanied by speculations that were refuelled by the reception at the airport of the Soviet capital [on 28 September], because the SED delegation was welcomed by Nikolay Slyunkov, a new Politburo member, who is hardly known in East Berlin. The 59-year-old former director of a tractor factory, a Belorussian, was appointed to the Politburo only this June. In the view of political observers, the downgraded protocol demonstrated the chilly relations between Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, even though the Soviet party chief, together with State President Gromyko, visited the GDR exhibition. In the evening Gorbachev intended to give a dinner for Honecker in the Kremlin. In diplomatic circles it was said that the SED chief had invited himself on the occasion of the industrial fair so as to meet with the Kremlin chief before Chancellor Kohl's forthcoming state visit to the Soviet Union in order to discuss a "great number of bilateral and international topics."

Economic leader Guenter Mittag and Foreign Trade Minister Beil, who are accompanying Honecker, are confronted with a wave of criticism leveled against GDR products in Moscow. Soviet trade firms and enterprises criticize the great amounts of damaged goods and the completely inadequate service. The list of criticized products includes, inter alia, furniture, washing machines, work benches, refrigerators, and drills. Many export products not only show defects during the guarantee period, but also cannot be repaired because spare parts are lacking. In Moscow functionaries mocked the fact that some GDR state companies prefer commissions from the Soviet Union over those from the West only because "to date the Russians have not been fussy about the delivery deadline or the quality." According to TASS, the GDR exhibition of 188 enterprises offers a picture "of how the most important economic problems have been solved in a fraternal socialist country."

Kessler Wishes To Meet FRG Defense Minister

LD2809183488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1614 Gmt 28 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin 28 Sep (ADN)—The Minister for National Defense of the GDR, Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the SED spoke on questions of European security, on relations between the two German states, their armed forces and defense ministries, on the military policy of the GDR and its role in the Warsaw Pact, in an interview for the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT.

In a talk with the chief editor, Dr Theo Sommer, and the ZEIT correspondent accredited in the GDR, Marlis Menge, Army General Heinz Kessler stressed his great interest in meeting with Professor Rupert Scholz, federal minister for defense of the FRG, within the framework of continuing the dialogue between the states and the alliance systems. Heinz Kessler stated that there is almost no area any more in which public figures of the Federal Republic and the GDR do not meet. "I said to myself: Why shouldn't we do that in fact? Cards on the table and begin." To date, however, there have been no invitations for talks from Bonn.

The GDR defense minister stated that there could be talks on the military doctrines of both sides in light of the readiness stated by both sides to do everything so that war would never again emanate from German soil. An exchange of thoughts on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, particularly central Europe, would also be possible. "I will readily explain our proposals on the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone, a nuclear weapons-free corridor and a zone of trust and security in central Europe."

Referring to the interest of both German states in disarmament, the advantage, which specifically the people in both German states would gain, is plain to see. They would be the first victims, the main sufferers, in the case of any military conflict, however it arose. Heinz Kessler said, "For this reason we are of the opinion that precisely the two German states can and should do more than any other state so the danger of military conflicts is reduced step by step on the dividing line of the two alliances, and so the awareness of common security interests increases."

SED's Hans-Joachim Hertwig Dies 28 Sep

LD2909100188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0850 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 29 Sep (ADN)—The SED Central Committee announces with deep sorrow that Comrade Hans-Joachim Hertwig, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Executive, died on Wednesday, 28 September 1988 at age 60, after a short, serious illness.

More on Workers Militia 35th Anniversary

Krenz Address

AU2709170988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 3

[Speech by Egon Krenz, Politburo member, SED Central Committee Secretary, and deputy State Council chairman, at an award ceremony in the GDR State Council building in Berlin on 23 September, marking the 35th founding anniversary of the GDR workers militia: "Protecting With Arms What Millions Create Every Day"]

[Text] Dear comrades, dear guests!

On behalf of SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, State Council chairman and chairman of the National Defense Council, I welcome you all most cordially here in the GDR State Council building.

A glance at this hall confirms the special reason for this festive gathering. On the 35th anniversary of the founding of the workers militia, we are honoring meritorious combatants for their outstanding contribution to the strengthening and defense of our socialist fatherland.

Ideas and Deeds for the Implementation of the Party Congress Resolutions [subhead]

Some of you, comrades, were present 3 and ½ decades ago when the militia was formed in enterprises as the worker class' direct armed formations. The younger people have adopted this tradition of revolutionary vigilance and steadfastness, and like their ideals, are now facing new tests in production and training. Thus each one of you at his place helps to fulfill the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress by contributing clever ideas and specific deeds.

Through all generations of combatants, the members of the workers militia have emphasized the readiness and ability of our people to reliably protect by arms what millions have created on their job every day, and what constitutes the sense of life—the certainty to be needed here; the carefully planned work for the happiness of the family and the well-being of our entire society; the certainty of being socially secure and of having good, socialist prospects in our worker-peasant state.

Being a member of the worker class militia is a personal confession of great social consequence. Your voluntary obligation to connect professional with military qualifications, and to face this challenge with considerable personal dedication in your spare time, is an expression of great civic responsibility. You and, together with you, all comrade combatants bear this responsibility with the certainty of thus serving the cause of socialism and peace.

This conscious ascertainment of loyalty on the job and in training—loyalty to our worker-peasant state's policy—also determines the current training year. The worker class' armed formations have put their motto of competition, "Our peacetime deed: high performance on the job and in training," into practice with excellent results.

Loyalty to the ideals of socialism and the high political morale of our workers militia units are a safe guarantee for the fact that our socialist society can rely on its comrade combatants in any situation.

That is also known to those who have always considered socialism a thorn in their side. The revolutionary strength of the worker class militia manifested itself most clearly to them when our GDR in the days of August 1961 placed their state border with Berlin (West) under its sovereign supervision. At the time, the threatened peace was preserved owing not lastly to the determined and circumspect action by members of the worker class militia.

To the enemies of socialism, arms in the hands of the worker class have always been a nightmare. To us, they are necessary as long as there are forces in the world who would like to destroy socialism today rather than tomorrow. In our country the people, all classes and sections, build socialism in joint responsibility, and they defend it jointly. History has always confirmed Lenin's realization that only the revolution that is able to defend itself is worth something. This historic experience marks our political action even now.

Everybody knows that our republic has entered world politics with the principle of never permitting war to again start from German soil. This vow of German antifascists, of communists, social democrats, and bourgeois democrats has become the state maxim of our worker-peasant power.

Recognized Contribution Toward the Peace Offensive of Socialism [subhead]

In a little over a year, we will celebrate our GDR's 40th anniversary. The development and growth of the first worker-peasant state on German soil has convincingly confirmed the correctness of the way shown by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Through firm friendship and relationship with the Soviet Union, in fraternal alliance with Lenin's party, our state has become a cornerstone of socialism and peace in Europe. With its flexible policy it has made an internationally recognized contribution to the coordinated peace offensive of the socialist community.

We support every step—such as the agreement between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of shorter- and intermediate-range missiles—which advances mankind on the road to a secure world. Every initiative that makes the tendency for the better irreversible will meet with our support and cooperation. Our proposals to create a nuclear-weapons-free corridor, a zone of confidence and security on both sides of the GDR-FRG border, are also marked by our responsibility for peace and our duty to preserve peace.

Even though we are happy about and promote every signal of peace, we do not forget that the international situation continues to develop in a contradictory and complicated way. Common sense has not won everywhere. Influential capitalist forces continue to plant their stakes in the policy of strength. To them, their own interests are more important than the peoples' interests of survival.

Given this situation, it would be irresponsible for us to even relax our revolutionary vigilance just a bit. The fighting readiness of our armed organs must never be smaller than the readiness of an aggressor to start a war against socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence also includes the responsibility to jointly defend what has been jointly achieved for a peaceful future. Nobody can refute the truth that a secure peace requires a strong socialism at any time.

Good Performance on the Job and at the Training Facility [subhead]

You, comrade combatants, noncommissioned officers, and commanders, guarantee this by exemplary performance on the job and at the training facility. In close cooperation with the comrades of the German people's police and the other defense and security organs, under the leadership of the party organizations in enterprises, kreise, and bezirke, and with the help of the state leaders, you have honorably fulfilled the class mission formulated by the 11th SED Congress. I thank you very cordially for this on behalf of Comrade Erich Honecker and the GDR party-state leadership.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the high awards bestowed upon you at the suggestion of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the Council of Minister Presidium, and the National Defense Council—the Karl-Marx Order, the Patriotic Order of Merit, the "Banner of Work" order, and the Scharnhorst Order conferred by the chairman of the National Defense Council.

On behalf of Comrade Erich Honecker, I congratulate you all very cordially on your deserved honor. I wish each of you personal well-being and new successes on our common road to the strengthening and protection of our socialist fatherland, the GDR.

Stoph Toast

AU2709112788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 3

[Toast by Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, at a meeting with members of the GDR workers militia in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin on 23 September, marking the militia's 35th founding anniversary: "Workers Class Combatants Are Peacekeepers"]

[Text] Dear comrades!
Dear friends from the GDR and abroad!

I cordially welcome you on behalf of our country's party-state leadership. I have the pleasant task of conveying to you the personal greetings of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

I want to express our special recognition to the comrades who have been awarded today. Honoring them with the highest state awards is an expression of the high esteem and gratitude of our party, and even of the whole society for the women and men in the militia's honorable uniform for their willingness to make sacrifices, their will to work and produce, their readiness for action, and their determination to fight.

Sympathetic Backing by the Families [subhead]

Cordial greetings also go to the spouses of combat group members.

The sympathetic support of spouses and all family members has greatly helped our comrade combatants to fulfill their class mission so honorably.

Tonight we are happy to welcome friends and comrades from fraternal socialist countries, from the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as from the friendly People's Republic of the Congo. The friendly ties of our workers militia with the people's militia and the workers militia in other countries are marked by the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

When we created the first units of the workers militia 35 years ago, our comrades knew that to be worker class combatants means to be peace keepers. The units were lead by well-tried antifascists, steadfast Communists, who at the time still wore their work clothes, and later, blue workman's overalls. Our first-generation FDJ members and the comrades and friends who actively cooperated in shaping our young socialist state were members. We are happy that almost 2,000 comrades can be honored this year for their 35 years of membership in the worker class' militia.

Always in the First Ranks in Building Our Society [subhead]

In forming the workers militia units, our country's worker class under the SED's leadership stressed its responsibility for political power, its determination not to allow anyone to touch the worker-peasant power. Keeping in mind the Leninist realization that only a revolution that is able to defend itself is worth something, we have organized the self-defense of the worker class and all working people. Our friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states has been consolidated.

In close cooperation with all our country's democratic forces, our worker-peasant state has now been shaped over almost 4 decades for the people's well-being and in the interest of peace. By implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, we are developing the advanced socialist society in the GDR on a solid foundation. In this respect, the members of the worker class militia are also in the first ranks, as they have always been. That deserves our highest recognition.

Dear comrades, dear friends!

Our cordial thanks go to all combatants, noncommissioned officers, and commanders, to the members of the honorary work groups, the workers militia, to thousands of comrades in the grass-roots organizations of the sponsoring enterprises, the kreis and bezirk party leaderships, the state leaders, the comrades of the German people's police and of the other armed organs, to all those who have taken the backing of the workers militia to heart. We wish them all good health, creativity, and well-being.

I suggest that we raise our glasses to drink
—to our workers militia,
—to our socialist fatherland, the GDR,
—to a strong socialism and secure peace,
—to the personal health of the General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council, Comrade Erich Honecker,
—to the health of all of you.

SED Central Committee Message

AU2709112688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee sent the following greetings message, signed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker, to all combatants, noncommissioned officers, and commanders of the GDR combat groups:

Comrade combatants, noncommissioned officers, and commanders!

The SED Central Committee conveys cordial greetings and congratulations to all members of the combat groups of the GDR worker class.

In the 35 years of their existence, the armed workers' formations have always proved to be an instrument of revolutionary power. Taking into account the requirements of the specific situation of the class struggle, they have—under the SED's leadership—honorably fulfilled all tasks and have essentially contributed to the protection of the worker-peasant state.

As producers and voluntary fighters, the members of the combat groups embody in a special way the will and capacity of the worker class that wields power and its allies to make people's rule and the people's achievements last by reliably protecting socialism.

Loyal to their revolutionary ideals and the legacy of the militant traditions of the German and international workers movement, they set an example of steadfastness and reliability, and for many citizens of our country they are a shining example in safeguarding the readiness for defense. In the awareness that they are serving peace in everything they do, they lead the socialist competition for high results at one's workplace and in training. In this way, they contribute to implementing the resolutions adopted by the Ninth SED Congress on the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. With maximum effort they are fulfilling the class mission that has been entrusted to them.

Our party, the workers class, all our people highly appreciate the efforts of our combatants. The training, which they carry out outside their work hours, and their exemplary dedication are an important guarantee of the inviolability of our socialist achievements and thus the preservation of peace.

The Central Committee expresses its cordial thanks and recognition to all combatants, noncommissioned officers, and commanders for their loyalty and reliability, for their political responsibility and their performance on the job and in strengthening our national defense. We also thank the spouses and other family members for their understanding and moral support for our combatants.

Our thanks go to all the working people, party and state officials, heads of enterprises and cooperatives, the comrades of the German people's police, and the other armed organs for their help in the development of our armed workers' formations. We are certain that, in view of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the members of the combat groups will fulfill all the tasks of the training period and increase the level of combat strength in every unit.

We wish all fighters, noncommissioned officers, and commanders, as well as their families, the comrades in the honorary work groups, and all comrades responsible for the combat groups new successes at work, and personal well-being.
With socialist greetings
E Honecker

Karpati Rules Out 'Unilateral' Soviet Withdrawal

LD2909123688 Budapest MTI in English 0940 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (MTI)—To mark Armed Forces Day, Thursday's "NEPSZABADSAG" carries an interview with Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence.

One of the things the minister discusses is Defence Ministry expenditure. The budget, he said, envisages 2,240 million forints this year for the provisioning of the Hungarian People's Army, 1,554 million for clothing, 1,334 million for health care, and 2,110 million for the maintenance and renovation of Army property.

Colonel-General Karpati also refers to the proposal of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, made at the special session of the United Nations in June, under which all foreign military presence should be eliminated by the year 2000. Asked whether some sort of unilateral decision is possible, the minister said, "No, in view of reciprocal security. Were the Soviet Union the only one to reduce, or withdraw, its troops stationed abroad, and NATO did not follow suit, then the vacuum caused by the withdrawn troops would have to be complemented by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty. The same would go for Hungary...We support the joint elimination of asymmetries, followed by the reciprocal reduction of military forces, so that power relations can be realized on a far lower level.

"In this context, we feel that the withdrawal, or a partial withdrawal, of Soviet troops from Hungary is conceivable and realistic. We hope that talks on the reduction of European armed forces and conventional weapons will begin shortly, possibly even this year. And we also hope that this will have a favourable result for Hungary, as soon as possible", said the colonel-general in the interview.

Armed Forces 'Likely' Topic With Soviet Leaders

AU2909114288 Paris AFP in English 1135 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Budapest, Sept 29 (AFP)—Hungarian Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati stated Thursday that total or partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary was a "realistic" possibility under future agreements on conventional disarmament in Europe.

In an interview with the communist daily NEPSZABADSAG, Mr. Karpati stated that further talks on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe would probably begin later in the year, adding that "we also believe they (the talks) will produce favorable results for our country." [passage omitted]

Mr. Karpati added that reductions in the size of Hungarian Armed Forces might also be studied at the talks. Separately, another Hungarian official said that Hungarian forces were likely to be included in talks on conventional disarmament in Europe.

In a report submitted on Tuesday to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist party, Matyas Szuros—the Central Committee secretary in charge of international issues—said that Soviet leaders had shown an "understanding of Hungarian efforts to see to it that Hungary be included in the first phase of armed forces reductions."

Another official said Tuesday that a total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary was unlikely in the foreseeable future, but added that "if the (CSCE) process and relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union developed favorably" a partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country was possible.

In July the Soviet Union stated that it would make no unilateral cuts in conventional forces.

Szuros on Romanian Ties, Possible Protest at UN

AU2909114788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Sep 88 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros at the MSZMP Central Committee session held on 27 September: "Matyas Szuros' Report"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In his supplementary remarks on the written report [on foreign policy], Matyas Szuros dealt first with Hungarian-Romanian relations and the Arad summit. He pointed out that both the socialist and the Western countries learned with sympathetic expectation about the decision of the MSZMP Politburo not to reject the Romanian offer for negotiations submitted only 48 hours earlier. The very fact of this summit helped us to make our foreign policy and our position on national minority issues understood.

Matyas Szuros pointed out that the strategic goal of the current Romanian leadership is to create a homogeneous Romanian national state.

Concerning the Hungarian measures following the Arad summit, Matyas Szuros mentioned the evaluation made by the Politburo and the Council of Ministers. Both bodies confirmed our principled policy and course so far, and urged us to make use of all the opportunities inherent in the Arad agreements, no matter how small, in order to eliminate the causes of the tension that has arisen in bilateral Hungarian-Romanian relations and to possibly develop our relations.

"We intend to send a fact-finding delegation led by Comrade Istvan Horvath to Romania in order to study the resettlement plan, and we also plan a visit by a delegation of journalists. Our information media will

report in detail about our experiences there. In accordance with the government decision, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue to analyze the opportunities of restoring our consulates and establishing cultural centers. We continue to focus our attention on the refugee problem. We have begun work on formulating a joint Hungarian-Romanian declaration on national minorities.

"While it is our duty to do our utmost, on both sides, to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations, we should calmly weigh our chances and prospects on the basis of our historical experience and of present facts.

"We feel responsible for the fate of the more than 2 million Hungarians living in Romania for both domestic and foreign policy reasons. On behalf of the Hungarian nation and of universal culture, we must do everything in our power to avoid the forced assimilation of Hungarians. We must first of all negotiate, but if our mutual efforts do not bring results enjoying the support of the international public opinion, we will not hesitate to make increasing use of the opportunities provided by various organizations and forums."

In connection with this, Matyas Szuros said that we should study the possibility of various measures to be taken within the framework of the United Nations and aimed at making this forum adopt certain resolutions in defense of national minorities.

"The Hungarian foreign policy is not seeking to discredit or isolate Romania or to create some sort of anti-Romanian front. By raising this issue in the United Nations, in other international organizations, and in various forums of socialist cooperation, we do not appeal for a vote against Romania, but we want to attract the attention of the international public opinion, government officials, and of responsible political factors to the serious violation of human and national minority rights. We also aim to make our honest position and our opinion on the relations between socialist construction and democracy and human and national minority rights better understood by the Romanian public opinion too.

"After the Arad summit, it is particularly important that our public opinion evaluate the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations and our efforts correctly and without emotion. We can implement our concepts only with the support and active participation of Hungarian society. A dialogue between various organizations, the churches, movements, and intellectual workshops about a policy representing our national interests is the domestic condition for such a consensus. It is important to cooperate and provide steady, precise, and accurate information." [passage omitted]

Writers Association Protests Romanian Plan

AU1909140588 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Sep 88 p 9

[Text] The Presidium of the Hungarian Writers Association asked MAGYAR NEMZET on 16 September to publish the following letter:

"Esteemed Writer Colleagues!

"No doubt, you have also received the astonishing news coming from press agency and world press reports about the intention of the Romanian Government to eliminate some 6,000 villages—more than half the total number of villages in Romania—and to concentrate their population into so-called industrial-agricultural conglomerates, or multilevel concrete blocks of flats.

"The reason for this astonishment and for the worldwide protest is that this plan intends to destroy centuries-old buildings, memorials, ancient cemeteries, and churches with the excuse of acquiring additional arable land.

"As our esteemed colleagues have heard, this astonishing plan affects all the national minorities living in Romania, including the Romanian peasants themselves, and not only the Hungarian, German, Serbian, Croatian, and Ukrainian minorities there.

"However, and we must point this out, this plan will affect the non-Romanian population more seriously, and even tragically, because it will endanger their national identity, their traditions, their language, and the present culture of homogeneous coexistence; in other words, this plan threatens the future of these people's national survival.

"The Romanian population affected by the destruction of villages will also suffer, but, because of the nature of the matter, their national identity will not come into question. This village destruction is, in fact, aimed at eliminating the largest national minority in Europe: the 2.5 million Hungarians and the 300,000 Germans of Romania, and assimilating them into the Romanian ethnic majority.

"This letter cannot deal with what had already happened in the area of eliminating the national minorities in Romania even prior to this latest plan of bulldozer-assisted "administrative resettlement," particularly with the measures taken against the original Hungarian inhabitants and the Hungarian population that formed a state here up to World War I; it was following World War I that this area of historical Hungary was annexed by the Kingdom of Romania, an area which was larger than the remaining mother-country.

"This time, we will limit ourselves to the anti-national minority events following World War II, and we mention here that the Hungarian University of Kolozsvar

(Cluj Napoca) was abolished in 1958. Out of the almost 200 institutions, not a single Hungarian-language secondary school operating in the Hungarian language-area of Transylvania has been left. Elementary schools are also being gradually changed into Romanian-language schools in purely Hungarian villages too, and the children are not allowed to speak their mother tongue on the territory of their schools. Radio and television broadcasts in Hungarian have also been halted; the same happened to the press, and the extremely limited Hungarian-language press is currently mainly used to inform the older Hungarian generation who do not speak Romanian perfectly of the official regulations.

"Close to half of the UN member states have a smaller population than the Hungarian national minority living in Romania. If history has deprived this nation of 2.5 million people of their right to establish a state, then they insist on living in their ancient homeland and preserve their Hungarian national identity. We firmly believe that world public opinion should raise its voice in protest, so that this country-sized nation could preserve their mother tongue, traditions, customs, and their ancient culture, in other words, their complete identity. The current plan of village destruction by means of bulldozers is only one, maybe the last, means of silencing the Hungarian language in Transylvania.

"We call upon you to do your utmost, both in writing and orally, against the village destruction and against the elimination of the Hungarian and German national minorities in Romania. Even if you cannot do anything against this unprecedented plan in the history of Europe, we feel that it is absolutely necessary for you to have a clear picture of this issue."

The Presidium of the Hungarian Writers' Association

Central Committee Communique Reviews Session

LD2809220588 Budapest MTI in English
1920 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 28 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session on September 27, 1988, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar.

The session was attended, besides the members of the Central Committee, by the secretary of the Central Control Committee, the heads of department of the Central Committee, the first secretaries of country and county-ranking party committees, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee and leaders of the central press.

The Central Committee discussed and approved

—A report by Matyas Szuros on timely foreign political and international issues,

—A report by Janos Lukacs on the position of the party and timely issues of party life and home politics.

—A report by Rezso Nyers on the setting up of advisory bodies affiliated to the Central Committee and the regional authorities.

Following, the Central Committee discussed current matters and adopted recommendations on appointments to state and public posts.

I.

1/ The Central Committee approved the report of Karoly Grosz on his visits to the United States of America and Canada from July 18 to 27. He stressed that the meetings marked outstanding events in the development of Hungarian- U.S. and Hungarian-Canadian links. A major part was played in the success of the talks, alongside the general improvement of East-West relations, by the interest shown overseas towards the Hungarian reform policy and democratization process.

The Central Committee attached great importance to the confirmation of mutual intentions to further improve East-West and bilateral relations during discussions with President Reagan, Vice-President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, Governor Dukakis and Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney. Besides its political significance, the visit was considered important because of its contribution to exploring further opportunities for economic cooperation. The Central Committee drew attention to the need for creating more favourable domestic conditions for the development of ties. It approves the constructive shaping of relations with North American Hungarian circles ready for dialogue and cooperation, which might become a major element in expanding the system of relations between Hungary and the West.

2/ The Central Committee discussed and adopted the report on the August 28 talks of Karoly Grosz and Nicolae Ceausescu in Arad. It confirmed the position of the Political Committee that it was politically justified to accept the Romanian proposal on the rapid organization of the meeting. It approved that during the talks the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] general secretary—on the authorization of the Political Committee—revealed all problems affecting the Hungarian-Romanian relationship and presented concrete proposals as to the improvement of relations and the development of cooperation.

The Central Committee stressed that the agreements can gain real value through realization. It deems it necessary for the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to make continued efforts to settle relations and develop cooperation with Romania, and keep on the agenda such key issues of relations as the guaranteeing of the individual and collective rights of Romania's Hungarian minority, reassuring settlement of the situation of refugees fleeing

from Romania to Hungary and revision of the nationality aspects of the village regulation plan. The Central Committee pointed out that the Romanian party violated valid inter-state agreements by unilaterally closing the Hungarian chief consulate in Cluj and refusing to give permission for the opening of the house of Hungarian culture in Bucharest.

3/ The Central Committee was informed on the September 8-9 visit of Karoly Grosz to the German Democratic Republic and his talks with Erich Honecker. It stated that the two countries' relations are developing on the basis of mutual respect for the national characteristics of building socialism and the strengthening of the linking role of common traits. The Central Committee pointed to the particular importance of developing scientific and technical relations and setting up-to-date forms of economic cooperation which effectively serve the interests of the two countries. The visit showed that Hungary and the German Democratic Republic equally consider it important to intensify European detente and cooperation and to start reducing conventional armed forces and armaments as soon as possible.

4/ The Central Committee stressed Hungary's interest in the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting of Conference on European Security and Cooperation, and in the organization of conferences and discussions associated with the Helsinki process.

The Central Committee highly appreciated the conclusion of agreement between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. Contractual regulation of the relations of Hungary and the EEC is marked by the signing of the accord on trade and commercial and economic cooperation, as well as the establishment of diplomatic relations. This move is indicative of the openness of Hungary's foreign policy and its commitment to European cooperation.

At the same time, the Central Committee calls on state authorities to examine their tasks in the field of bilateral relations and take the initiative for the settlement of disputes and the creation of a system of relations and cooperation conforming to the interests of the two peoples. It stressed that Hungary has the foreign political task to follow with attention the situation of Hungarians living beyond the border, which is in accordance with the international norms and agreements and endeavours to establish and intensify good-neighbourly relations.

5/ The Central Committee expressed concern over the protracted settlement of the Middle East situation and the oppressive measures applied against the popular movement in the Israel-occupied territories. It stated that the only basis for lasting peace in the region can be a realistic and compromising conduct and a political solution to be worked out at an international conference attended by all concerned parties. The Central Committee declared support for foreign political moves to expand Hungarian-Israeli relations. It approves the agreement with the Republic of Korea on the mutual establishment of trade representations with consular rights. Besides serving direct Hungarian interests, the diplomatic measures observant of reality may contribute to the settlement of local hotbeds of crisis.

6/ The Central Committee welcomed the Iraqi-Iranian ceasefire accord as a first step on the road to settling the warlike conflict by peaceful means. It expressed the hope that Hungary's participation in the work of the U.N. peace- keeping forces also promotes the many-sided development of relations between Hungary and the two countries concerned.

II.

The Central Committee discussed and approved the report on the position of the party and timely questions of party life and home politics.

1/ It stated that the tasks involved in membership card renewal were carried out by the party bodies, basic organizations, the groups in charge of individual meetings and the staff members of the apparatus with a high degree of political responsibility and organization. The discussion with party members, their proposals and initiatives proved to be the propelling force of major changes, and largely contributed to the convening and decisions of the national party conference.

It was a considerable political value of the membership card renewal that the decisive majority of members took a stand for affiliation to the party, initiated the party's renewal and expressed their wish to actively participate in this process. In the period of the card renewal more than 73,000 people, or 8.3 per cent of the membership, left the party. On June 30 the membership numbered 816,622. The present composition of party membership makes it possible for the HSWP to operate as a party with a massive workers basis and substantial leverage among the various social strata.

The Central Committee calls the attention of the party organizations and party members, that amidst the other tasks of policy making, and even in connection with them, to pay more attention and energy to recruiting new members. It is especially important, that by increasing the political force of attraction of the party, to accelerate the approach of the young people towards the party and to improve their ratio within the rank and file.

2. The central issue of the May national party conference and stances was the transformation of the system of political institutions. In this interest the Central Committee has made appropriate initiatives. The revision of the Constitution has been started, the bill on association and assembly elaborated under wide-ranging public scrutiny, and the completed election bill is soon to be made public. In state administration a practice which is new in several respects has been adopted. The trade union movement, the communist youth organization, the

Patriotic People's Front and other social organizations and movements have started the renewal of their work. As a result of all these efforts an open and democratic public life is coming to existence.

The Central Committee points out that it is a long process, and that the final result is still beyond reach, it should not be a source of impatience. It should be considered a rule of thumb that in the early phase of this process opinions become polarized. This is experienced both within and outside the party in all fields of the political, economic and social life.

The Central Committee recalled the May conference decree that the socialist pluralism based on the leading role of the party is the means of giving headway to the people's power and its implementation. This is considered a standard in the renewal of the system of political institutions.

3. The mood of the public is strongly influenced by the social tensions stemming from the insufficient performance of the economy and the deteriorating living conditions. The negative consequences of a one and half decade long process and the vast disruption of the external and economic balance cannot be overcome in one or two years.

The state administrative organs should unambiguously and predictably regulate the economic processes. The public and the economic units should understand that due to the responsibility towards the future of the country the administration is no longer in the position and has no rights to maintain manufacturing which is devalued on international markets. In the debates related to the economy some distortions can be observed. Distribution related issues are dominant and undue limited interest is shown in enterprise, management and manufacturing.

The Central Committee urges the speeding up of the trade union law - the precise legal regulation to the collective bargaining rights of the employees and the handling of industrial conflicts, including strikes. At the same time it is pointed out that work layoffs cause financial damage and their avoidance is a social interest and also a responsibility with the partners participating in finding solutions to the conflicts.

4. The Central Committee, according to the stance of the party conference, remains to initiate and promote the reform of the system of political institutions and the economy. The members and organizations of the party should be prepared to the orientation and firmness in the multifaceted political life.

5. The Central Committee finds as issues deserving further interest and analysis, among the recent events, the declaration of the New March Front, the activity of the alternative environmental protection, youth and other movements and the fact that the Hungarian Democratic Forum was declared an organization by the founders. The Central Committee wishes to provide the following starting point for the conduct of the party organizations and their members, and communists working in state administration and social organizations.

The Central Committee declares support for citizens availing themselves of their political rights within the framework of the Constitution and the law, including the right of association and assembly. To solve the nation's problems in a socialist manner, the HSWP continues to strive for dialogue and the exploration of prospective areas of cooperation. It has the aim to re-create national consensus and not to divide the people. On the other hand, it is aware that the different movements also include forces that want to foil dialogue and escalate tension, and occasional anti-socialist groups are also present. The HSWP rejects the use of aggressive, anti-democratic methods unworthy of the new political culture. It supports the government and state authorities in safeguarding legality.

The Central Committee calls on the local party organizations to assess on their own, with reliance on the experience and opinion of members, the activity of the various groupings formed in their area of operation. They should provide guidelines for party members on ways of arguing in the open forums of other organizations. They should discuss the current situation and mark out their tasks with adequate flexibility. The Central Committee will continuously supply political directives for the concerted action of party organizations in this field.

6. The Central Committee expects that the transformation of conditions within the party and its democratic renewal will be a long process. It encourages the membership and the members of bodies to elect officials able to represent and put into practice the party's policy autonomously as recognized leaders of their communities.

The political and action unity of the party is indispensable to attaining our goals. We should cast off numerous prejudices about the concept of unity and avoid simplification. Once again, we work amid conditions of a specific two-front struggle. We equally reject views, and the ensuing practices, which consider the decisions of the national party conference exaggerated and intentions to revise all existing elements of political work. On the other hand, the different views and currents and related debates should be calculated with in a longer perspective within the party.

III.

The Central Committee approved the proposal on the setting up of advisory bodies affiliated to the Central Committee and regional party bodies. It decided to form its own advisory body, and proposes the county party committees should consider the foundation of similar bodies.

The Central Committee commissioned the Political Committee to present a proposal on the personnel of the advisory body.

News Conference Describes Ministers' Meeting

AU2809102988 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Sep 88 pp 1, 5

["Correspondents" report: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Work Program To Develop Hungarian-Romanian Interstate Relations—Decision on the Establishment of the National Interest Coordination Council—Census To Be Held in Hungary in 1990—Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan Gives News Conference"—with the participation of Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, in Budapest on 22 September]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Council of Ministers has adopted a draft bill on the modification of the law on the court registration of firms, and will submit it to the Presidential Council. The registration of firms is aimed at more thoroughly implementing legality in economic life and creating secure conditions for the flow of capital. Unless otherwise stipulated by the rules, the data on registered economic units are available to the public. Registration of economic units will be made compulsory. [passage omitted]

NEPSZABADSAG: Why does the government not enforce our 12-year-old environmental protection law which, among other things, stipulates that we should produce, import, and sell only vehicles that do not cause air pollution beyond a certain level?

[Marosan] I do not agree with this. There are much more recent ministerial and governmental decisions that strictly regulate the permissible level of air pollution caused by vehicles. According to experts of the Transport Ministry, every Hungarian vehicle is tested on an average of every 2 to 3 years. [passage omitted]

KEPES 7: When does the government plan to review the tax brackets and when will it deal with the turnover tax needed for tourist facilities?

[Marosan] The government is expected to deal with the tax brackets during this December's National Assembly session. The financial administration will submit its proposals concerning the turnover tax to the parliament in October. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: At the recent meeting between the government and trade union representatives held on 21 September, the government was represented by Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and not by Karoly Grosz. Because, according to previous practice, the primier always represented the government at such meetings, I would like to know whether this is a sign of some changes?

[Marosan] Nothing of the sort. The government and trade unions representatives agreed that Comrade Pozsgay—in his capacity as minister of state— would represent the government in its contacts with public and other organizations which represent interests. [passage omitted]

VESZPREMI MEGYEI NAPLO: Today the public has been intensively discussing the reorganization of certain ministries and the possible elimination of some others. Even more rumors are being circulated about the upcoming government reorganization, which the premier has often mentioned. Will the government spokesman deny or confirm these rumors?

[Marosan] The work program adopted by the government stipulates the modernization of the government's organization and work style, including better personnel. This is a long process. It is possible that certain changes will take place this year, but I cannot say more than that. [passage omitted]

Official on Right To Strike, Social Conflicts

AU2709120588 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with Peter Fahn, deputy head of the Economic and Standard of Living Policy Department of the National Trade Union Council, by Laszlo Diosdi: "The Trade Unions Should Initiate and Lead Strikes"; date and place not given]

[Text] The strikes in recent weeks have made it clear that the scope of our economic policy and certain measures not only intensify social contradictions and conflicts but also make them more open. These spontaneous actions were caused by the workers' conditions and the inadequate regulation of their trade union rights. The heart of the matter is that Hungary signed the Geneva Convention in 1976 and recognized the right of workers and trade unions to strike. In international practice, this right is stipulated in the law on trade unions and in the labor code. The position of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] is that the right to strike should be regulated by the trade unions law which is currently being prepared. However, we cannot wait until the law is finalized, because this will take a relatively long time, and life does not wait in the meantime. Therefore, legal regulations concerning the right to strike should be spelled out along with the current modification of the Labor Code in connection with the new partnership bill. The essence of the trade unions' proposal is that the right to strike should be combined with the existing right of veto. We spoke with Peter Fahn about the opinion of the trade unions:

[Diosdi] Let us begin with the obvious question: Why is it necessary to regulate the right to strike, and why now?

[Fahn] Our current difficult economic situation, the stagnation in our standard of living, and the long-term decrease in our real wages are increasingly making our workers consider the labor struggle a means of searching for a solution. The strikes in recent weeks have also demonstrated this. The lack of economic results and the processes under way throughout the entire political system and the lack of confidence—all these demonstrate a gradual intensification of social conflict, including economic conflict. Therefore, here in the trade union, we have been trying for some time to properly decide upon the right to strike within the framework of trade union rights—this is a right which, in fact, is not a trade union right but rather is an employee's right—so that we can make use of this measure, as a final solution, in representing the workers' interests.

[Diosdi] No law has banned strikes in Hungary so far, either.

[Fahn] That is true, but this fact has become widely known only recently, because for decades no one knew that there was a right to strike in Hungary, or that Hungary was a signatory to the relevant international agreement on this right. No one was interested in publicizing this right for a long time, let alone in making people aware of this possibility. It is a fact that the right to strike has not been regulated in Hungary. Neither the political echelons nor the trade unions thought it was important to use this opportunity when we were representing the workers' interests. This is mainly because Hungarian trade unions have an internationally unique right to settle conflicts, namely the right of veto. Essentially, this right of veto makes it possible for the trade unions to avoid and modify all measures taken by employers which violate the workers' fundamental interests and rights.

[Diosdi] The only problem with this right of veto was that the trade unions seldom made use of this right, and when they did, they rarely made this public.

[Fahn] This was in harmony with Hungary's incorrect practice involving publicity of trying to avoid political conflicts or of overcoming conflicts by refraining from making a national issue out of existing conflicts. I remember when a conflict arose at the Raba enterprises in Gyor following the dismissal of workers there; this became a national issue. The party's evaluation of the affair was that, although they were justified, the events should not have been widely publicized. In those times, the meetings of the party, trade union, and government leaders were not made public, in spite of the tough debates carried out at these meetings, and the same practice also applied to local conflicts and the right to veto. There were also strikes, like the one prior to the frequently mentioned party decision on the working class in 1972. These strikes were not made public. The workers were unaware of the international agreements which gave them the opportunity to strike; nevertheless, they stopped work and began a tough strike. Today, if someone talks back to his boss, it will be made public.

[Diosdi] Let us return to the present, or to the recent past. In April, the trade union's draft bill on wage reform was ready, and it contained strikes as a final solution. This means that you already dealt with this issue earlier.

[Fahn] That is true. Much earlier, we had internal proposals and materials that contributed to the formulation of trade union positions concerning strikes. We started, and continue to start from the premise that, if there is a strike, the state, the workers, and the trade unions will be equally interested in making sure that this strike is carried out according to the rules and in a civilized manner. Their legal regulation will not necessarily lead to strikes, but by providing legal regulations for the strikes, the workers collectives, the trade unions, and the political echelon can better interpret these strikes, and no intentional interpretation can be made later.

Of course, it is absolutely obvious that the right to strike alone will not solve any of the economic problems. It is also clear that obtaining the right to strike does not mean that trade unions will improve their activity. By all means, the trade union activity has to be better than before and different from what it was up to now, a trade union desired by the workers. If the workers want their trade union to be a fighting one, then the trade union should become a fighting one, because sooner or later, the workers will find out if their trade union conducts a different policy, then they will no longer need this type of trade union, and they will confront this trade union.

[Diosdi] At the NEPSZABADSAG Forum on the miners day in Pecs, SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy said that the trade union movement should receive the opportunity to lead a strike. It was also stated at other trade union forums that the trade unions intend to lead the strike movement and to organize the strikes in order to prevent them from becoming a reservoir of vague political emotions and to make sure that they become the clean and classic means of economic struggle for justified interests. Who urges legislation?

[Fahn] I would like to emphasize that it is not only the trade unions that urge legislation in this matter. I think legislation concerning the right to strike is even more important for the state and for the economic leadership. As I have already mentioned, we think that strikes are the final solution. We should apply all other means of solving a conflict prior to strikes. If all these means are unsuccessful, than one can think of strikes. This is the principle of ultima ratio, a principle inherent in every right to strike. One should evaluate the possible advantages and disadvantages in each case. This is a great responsibility. However, the trade unions do not exercise favors when they accept strikes, rather this is their

responsibility. If we want a more efficient institutional scope in implementing interests, the trade unions should be authorized to organize strikes.

[Diosdi] We can also formulate this in another way, namely that everything that has frequently been an agreement achieved through informal channels so far, this time openly appears as a demand in the form and by means of strikes.

[Fahn] The time of agreements signed in obscure rooms has past. Of course, publicity makes the trade union activity and bargaining more difficult because workers must be made aware of every compromise. This requires a totally different trade union activity. However, we must accept this because, in future, we will not be able to carry out any other type of trade union activity.

[Diosdi) Although not a very friendly question, it must be asked here: Is the trade union apparatus and its circle of officials able to carry out this bargaining and negotiations with the employers consistently and with professional confidence, and to honestly implement the workers interests?

[Fahn] It is in vogue today to criticize the trade union and its officials. In my view, many trade union officials and most of the trade union officials active in the apparatus are suitable for the extremely complex tasks required by the future trade union activity. However, it is also clear that a many of apparatus and officials must be changed and refreshed. We must face this requirement. The entire political activity of the trade union is made up of representation of interests, and the discovery of these interests requires totally different skills.

Although not directly, the following concept is closely connected with this: Everything that we fail to regulate by various laws will generally disappear because we regard the enterprise trade union officials as weak elements who are able to implement a certain right only it this is formulated in the law. There is some truth in this, but human nature cannot be regulated. Enterprise trade union officials should become fighters. An even more important requirement is that they should not be committed to their enemies, but exclusively to their electors. For this, however, the trade union committee secretary should not be the one who in 9 out of 10 cases, becomes involved in a conflict with the enterprise director. We should be able to defend this man. A proper defense for trade union officials is required not only by the right to strike but also by the entire trade union activity. However, the worker collective can provide the most efficient defense of trade union officials.

[Diosdi] As far as I know, neither the preparation of the trade union law nor the regulation of the right to strike appear in the government legislation plans.

[Fahn] But the modification of the Labor Code, including the modification of the right of veto, does appear in these plans. The right of veto should be modified in a way to make it suitable to accomodate the right to strike too. As for the law on trade unions, the SZOT itself has begun to work out the draft bill, because there was a debate on whether the trade union or the legal experts should carry this out. The way we see it, however, it is important and urgent to regulate the right to strike, irrespective of the law on trade union activity.

Therefore, we recommend the following work sequence: We would like to sign an agreement at the next meeting of the Council of Ministers and the SZOT leaders on the basic principles that need to be considered in dealing with the strikes. An agreement between the Council of Ministers and the SZOT is, of course, not a law, but it can stipulate the major principles which can help us make this phenomenon part of our everyday life. Then, since the preparations for this are currently being carried out, there are opportunities to temporarily regulate the right to strike in the framework of the Labor Code. The National Assembly session in December could carry out this modification by establishing the basic rules and institutions that would regulate the use of strikes. The draft text has already been formulated and the branch trade unions as well as the county trade union councils have expressed their opinions about the draft text, and the proposals were discussed by the entire trade union body in some places, thus, the proposals will already contain the opinion of a relatively broad circle of trade unions by the time the SZOT meets with the government.

[Diosdi] What basic principles do you intend to formulate for the practical application of the right to strike?

[Fahn] First of all the principle that strikes can be used only to express economic demands. By observing strict rules of coordination, the strike should be the final means of achieving demands. The trade unions should have the right to declare a strike. We consider it necessary to rule that a strike is voluntary and no one can be obliged to participate in a strike or to work during a strike and that a strike should be declared following the agreement of the majority. We should differentiate between several strike forms: The main form should be the one following (or forcing) the veto and the warning and solidarity strikes should be secondary forms. It is also very important that, following the acceptance of the right to strike, the trade unions should establish their own funds to assist the strikers.

[Diosdi] What concrete draft law will the trade unions support during the government-SZOT meeting and during the preparation of the draft bill?

[Fahn] This is our opinion about the further development of the right to veto: As always, the trade unions have the right to veto the labor regulations or measures that affect the workers interests, and particularly their

social security. The vetoed measures should not be carried out until an agreement is reached or until the competent body decides on the matter. A labor court should decide on individual vetos and an arbitration procedure should decide on collective vetos. There are several ideas on the composition of an arbitration committee. The essential thing is that, if this committee does not approve of this veto or if arbitration fails, the trade unions will have the right to declare a strike. In all cases, a strike should be preceded by arbitration, except for the short warning strikes. The will of the majority of workers is needed for a strike to be declared; at the same time, the higher trade union bodies should be informed about the intention to strike. It is important that the employer or any other state administration body should not have the right to take measures against the organization of a strike. Participation in a strike declared by the trade unions should not mean the violation of the obligation to work, and thus, this should not lead to unfavorable consequences for the strikers.

[Diosdi] Who would pay the wages of the workers on strike?

[Fahn] In our opinion, if the strike takes place as a result of an employer's violation of labor regulations, the employer in question should pay the expenses. Of course, the workers are eligible for social security payments during their strike, and the trade unions will temporarily pay their wages from a secret and tax-free strike fund created by the trade unions from their own resources.

[Diosdi] Can the trade union declare a general strike on the basis of all these principles?

[Fahn] The Geneva convention, which we also signed, does not contain any limitations. In my opinion, the SZOT can declare a strike if large-scale tensions emerge in society, tensions that affect society at large and which cannot be eliminated by other means. The strike is a serious weapon and we should not abuse it. However, we must not limit the implementation of nation-wide strikes either.

Union Denies Urging Worker Guards' Abolition

LD2809140988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 88

[From the "Evening Magazine" program; date and place of statement not given]

[Text] The Presidium of the Construction, Woodworking, and Building Materials Workers Trade Union has asked "Evening Magazine" to broadcast the following statement:

As a consequence of the report on the session of our trade union's Presidium, which was broadcast on the "Lunchtime Chronicle" radio program on 26 September 1988, a regrettable misunderstanding has occurred. The Presidium was reviewing the experiences of the membership debate on the trade union wage reform. In the membership debate, many hundreds of proposals were heard, with several of them searching for possibilities to create material resources. Some of these considered, together with other proposals, a reduction in military spending and the abolition of the Workers Guard. The Presidium did not debate these proposals in detail. Membership opinions cannot be changed by the Presidium, but the body did not even identify itself with the proposals relating to the Workers Guard. As a result, our trade union Presidium did not question the necessity of the Workers Guard.

We regret that the statement by the national commander of the Workers Guard which appeared in MAGYAR HIRLAP makes it appear that the Presidium of our trade union had taken a stand in favor of abolishing the Workers Guard. Not even the report broadcast on the "Lunchtime Chronicle" provided a basis for drawing such conclusions. For this reason, on the part of our trade union, we consider this statement to be unacceptable.

[Signed] The Presidium of the Construction, Woodworking, and Building Materials Workers Trade Union

Wozniak Appointed Ambassador to PRC
LD2809165188 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Sep (PAP)—The Polish State Council has appointed Marian Wozniak to the post of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the PRC.

M. Wozniak was born in 1936. He was elected in particular first secretary of Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, and later secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. In February 1982 he was elected as candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and in July as member of the Politburo. He occupied this post until June of this year. He is a deputy of the ninth Sejm.

World Bank's Lari Views Poland's Economy
AU2609174588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 88 p 7

[PAP report: "There Can Be No Progress Without a Greater Effort and Sacrifices"]

[Excerpts] Washington— On 19 September the World Bank issued a report on the world economic situation and the Bank's work in 1987. The report discusses economic restructuring, adaptation, development, and debts in some countries in Europe, the Middle East, and northern Africa. [passage omitted]

PAP asked Eugenio Lari, World Bank director for East Europe, for an assessment of the economic situation and debts in East Europe. He said that Poland's foreign debts are not excessive compared to the size of its gross national product or per capita income. The problem is that Poland's debts are high compared to the size of Polish exports.

E. Lari pointed out that Polish exports have fallen considerably during the past 10 years. That is why the Polish authorities' chief priority is to increase exports. The latest Polish pro-export efforts fill us with optimism, he said.

However, he continued, the Polish economy is still faced with the problem of creating a system of incentives to boost exports. According to World Bank experts, solving the problem of debts, restructuring, and economic growth, not just in Poland, but in every country with economic difficulties, calls for huge efforts by the whole society, together with a certain reduction in the level of consumption and a fundamental rise in productivity.

Asked what determines the success of the Polish economic reform, E. Lari said that a broad front of support and an effort by the whole Polish society are an essential condition for the success of the bold economic reforms undertaken by Poland today. It is difficult to imagine reforms and radical economic changes in Poland without the support of and a huge effort by Polish society.

E. Lari also said that economic actions capable of giving Polish society tangible results as quickly as possible would provide an important psychological boost to the implementation of the reforms in Poland.

Speaking about the effect of reform mechanisms on Polish economic results, E. Lari said that World Bank experts are still aware of the difficult problem of the central distribution of the means of production in Poland. Abolishing this central distribution plus proper mechanisms for shaping prices and incomes are the most important problems facing the Polish economy today, said E. Lari.

Rakowski, SD Chairman Interviewed on SD's Role
LD2809202088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Interview with Polish Premier Miecczyslaw Rakowski and with SD Chairman Tadeusz Mlynczak by unidentified reporter after a meeting between Rakowski and the SD Central Committee Secretariat on 28 Sep; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Chairman, we all know the names of the politicians who represented the SD in previous cabinets. Are we going to see new faces in Premier Rakowski's government?

[Mlynczak] I...

[Rakowski, interrupting] That's a good question.

[Mlynczak] I would very much like that and I am hoping that Premier Rakowski will take note of this.

[Reporter] And which ministerial portfolios should, in your view, be entrusted to representatives of your party?

[Mlynczak] I think that this is exactly what should be discussed over the next few days, I believe.

[Reporter] And what can you say about that, prime minister?

[Rakowski] We did not discuss this matter today as the chairman and I agreed that I shall present my proposals to him and listen more closely to his comments later. Today we spoke about the role of the SD, that is my hosts spoke about that, as well as the issues that their party is dealing with and which it regards as important, and which should be considered in the work of the government. The party represents certain social groups which no longer need to look for their place in our society but which need a friendly attitude towards them as they make a contribution—still too small and frequently not through their own fault—to multiplying the national wealth. It is a question of creating such conditions—I am

thinking of the government here—which would truly enable small manufacturers, craftsmen, people who want to contribute something to their country, to achieve that end.

[Reporter] In the Sejm you spoke about voices demanding that you move over and make more room. Will there be more room in the government for this party?

[Rakowski] I cannot answer that question. As a result of the government reorganization carried out by Premier Messner—the number of ministries is quite small; there are 19. I would like the public to know this and be aware that there are not an enormous number of ministries which can be shared or offered to various social forces. In fact there are quite a few customers—and there should be quite a few. But sharing these ministries is already creating problems. We shall find solutions but I wouldn't like anyone to think that there are dozens of seats waiting for, let's say, all sorts of people. It's not like that at all.

[Reporter] Who are you going to meet tomorrow and throughout this week?

[Rakowski] Well, I have a whole program. Tomorrow I am going to have a meeting with the OPZZ leadership, as well as with several other persons, and you will be able to learn about it tomorrow.

Rakowski Discusses New Government With ZSL

LD2809171788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski has had the first consultative meeting with the secretariat of the ZSL Supreme Committee about the creation of a new government. They discussed the reforms and the vital need to broaden the base of government. The role of agriculture and the food economy and structural changes in industry, aimed at helping industry were also discussed. The economic problems of the countryside were also broached. After the talks were over, Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Roman Malinowski spoke to journalists, expressing satisfaction with their course and results.

Solidarity Ignores Warning To Stay Out of Firms

AU2809171188 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Report by Marian Kafarsky]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Sept 28 (AFP)—Branches of Solidarity are sprouting throughout Polish firms in defiance of repeated government warnings of action against the banned trade union, union sources said here Wednesday.

They said Solidarity-manned works councils have recently sprung up in firms as far apart as Lodz, Krakow, Bielsko-Biala, Warsaw and Slupsk.

At the central industrial city of Lodz no fewer than seven works councils were created by Solidarity last week.

One, headed by Teresa Zwawiec and Krystyna Mokrzynska, was set up at the Julian Marchlewski textile mill, the city's largest, which employs nearly 20,000 people.

Dozens of other Solidarity works councils already exist in Lublin, Poznan, Wroclaw, Kielce, Starachowice, and Szczecin.

Sources said many council members, including union representatives at 18 Bialystok firms who had urged regional officials to enter negotiations with Solidarity's regional council, had been cautioned by police not to continue their union work.

They added that a host of young participants in last month's strikes were being harassed by authorities.

Forty strikers at Stalowa Wola, central Poland, were unexpectedly drafted but have refused to heed the call to serve in the Army, according to the reports.

Another young striker, miner Andrzej Rusek who works at the Andaluzja pit near the southern city of Katowice, was ordered to repay a loan of 90,000 zlotys (191 dollars), equal to an average two-month salary, within one week.

The loan had been granted by his employer and was originally to be paid back over several years.

Union sources said a police court fined another Solidarity militant, Ryszard Kostrzewa of Lodz, to pay 50,000 zlotys (106 dollars) for organizing a Solidarity meeting with strikers last month.

Following the increase in activity by councils that had so far remained largely underground, the government has issued a stern warning accusing the outlawed union of setting up "illegal bodies".

While Solidarity's national leadership (KKW) welcomed the creation of the works councils, party leaders have slammed the union's "policy of faits accomplis", which they said was putting a strain on the budding dialogue between the government and the country's opposition. [passage omitted]

Weekly Favors Opposition Role in Government

AU2809140988 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 18 Sep 88 p 3

[Commentary by Jerzy Mikke: "Could This Be the Start?"]

[Text] Several days ago, the authorities made an important decision. They agreed to talk to Lech Walesa, leader of the illegal Solidarity, and to do so on 31 August, which

is symbolic. So what seemed most unlikely several months ago has now become reality. This shows very well that the authorities possess common sense, especially because this decision was not an easy one at all.

As a result, the chances of a social accord today seem incomparably greater than at any time during the past 7 years, especially when one remembers the strikes in May and August, the fall in the standard of living, the economic stagnation, the increasing discontent which also affected party members, and the concern over our situation felt in the East and in the West.

All these features must have made the state leadership realize the need to change its style of government and seek new remedial measures.

General expectations were meant to be satisfied by the meeting between Lech Walesa and General Czeslaw Kiszczak, attended by a church representative, Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski. It is still too early to assess the significance of this meeting. It may indeed be a breakthrough, or it may turn out to be a mere experiment aimed at alleviating social tensions.

The first talk ended in a clear success for the authorities. Walesa complied with their wishes and called for an end to the strikes. He applied his prestige in full. He took a risk, and received from the authorities nothing more than a vague promise of further talks. His call was heard. A major part of the workers class trusted him. He proved that he is an activist fully responsible for the fate of the workers locked up in their factory fortresses and for what is happening in Poland.

Now, everything depends on the authorities' next move. Although the strikes are over, the conflicts are not, and the expectations of workers are hanging in mid air. Time is rushing by. A lack of further decisions, any provocation by a member of the authorities, and any punitive measure may give rise to new unrest. Just because some parts of the country have been relatively calm so far does not mean that tension cannot break out in them. Such a possibility was revealed by the last two Central Committee plenums, at which major differences came to light between those in favor of repression and those in favor of political solutions. These differences were also reflected in the way in which the strikes were handled in different voivodships.

It is also possible that individual work forces and trade unions will become impatient if the government fails to quickly satisfy the hopes expressed by the first of the strike demands. In September 1988, this is surely the most important matter concerning the consolidation of social calm.

The unequivocal view of the church, which the government team usually respects, fills us with comfort. "The basic cause of the present sociopolitical situation," said the bishops at their meeting at Jasna Gora on 26 August. "is a violation of human rights and of the dignity of human work. Violating these rights harms the nation and state security. (...) It is necessary to dispense with terror and force, and to recognize the intelligent voice of all citizens of the country. Competent people should be permitted to control state affairs. (...) It should be accepted that dialogue is the key to solving all social conflicts. One must seek ways leading to trade union pluralism and to the formation of associations."

Let us hope these words get through to all those who profess the principle that "there is no freedom without responsibility," a principle that is somehow close to my heart.

However, the Kiszczak-Walesa meeting and other preparatory talks were not confined to workers' problems. They also discussed the "constructive opposition's" future participation in representative bodies and in activity aimed at heaving the country out of the social precipice and economic quagmire. A thorough and consistent economic reform is essential in order to improve the daily lives of millions of Poles, but it will not achieve rapid results and will require certain sacrifices. One cannot blame the workers for not trusting the reform slogans, however justified they are. For many years, the word "reform" was synonymous with a failure of various activities by the authorities, especially price increases.

If "reform" is to acquire a new meaning, then it must be subject to social control, which will guarantee its proper implementation. That is one of the roles of the opposition. However, the opposition cannot just furnish society with persuasion and the authorities with opinions without really taking part in decisionmaking. The time has come to make the opposition's presence in political life, the Sejm, the people's councils—and perhaps in the government as well—institutional.

Recent press articles encourage such a role for the opposition. However, it is odd that the same writers who are in favor of political pluralism are questioning the need for trade union pluralism. I think these writers are wrong to believe that social mistrust can be overcome without Lech Walesa's presence in public life as the personification of workers' expectations. Many people feel that a solution to the trade union dilemma will reflect real government intentions in recognizing the role of society. The international situation is providing a major chance for such a solution.

However, if the opposition does achieve such a role, it should remember the slogan which both sides voiced in 1980: "There will be neither victors nor vanquished." Only Poland may win.

Text of Solidarity Gdansk Meeting Documents

AU2809133688 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 25 Sep 88 p 8

[Headline: "Gdansk Meeting Documents"]

[Text] In the preceding issue of PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI we reported that intellectuals, who were invited by Lech Walesa, conferred in Gdansk on 11 September.

At his 13 September press conference, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban presented his own interpretation of the documents issued by the Gdansk meeting. We publish below the texts of the two documents.

Resolution:

The signatories of the May Manifesto 1987, who have met in St. Brygida Parish in Gdansk at the new invitation issued by Lech Walesa, declare that the demand made by Lech Walesa during his talk with General Czeslaw Kiszczak, who represented the governing team, that Solidarity be legalized and that pluralism without any qualifying adjectives be introduced at once is to us the main and most urgent condition for starting honest dialogue between the civic opposition and the government. That is why we fully support the founder of Solidarity and holder of the Nobel Prize in his negotiations. At the same time, we protest the repressive measures taken against those who went on strike.

Gdansk, 11 September 1988.

Declaration:
The signatories of the statement of 31 May 1987 and other persons who have gathered in Gdansk on 11 September 1988 at the invitation of Chairman Lech Walesa declare:

1. The main demand of this year's strike movement was for reinstatement of Solidarity and for trade union pluralism and not only for economic concessions. The next wave of strikes is bound to assume a more universal and dramatic character. That is why all social and political forces active in Poland should react as speedily as possible. One must not wait any longer. The problem will not be solved by repressive measures taken against strikers—measures that generate general opposition—and by irritating propaganda actions. Unless Solidarity's right to legal activities is recognized, it will never be possible to obtain from our people, especially from workers, that credit of trust that is necessary in order to promote any reforms at all. The existence of several trade unions in a single enterprise does not at all mean that conflicts and competitive claims, which may be fatal for the economy, may materialize. On the contrary, precisely the existence of genuine trade unions will make it possible to find practical solutions that respect both the resolve of work forces and the interest of the people. Solidarity has once again proved that it enjoys society's trust, has demonstrated political common sense, and has confirmed that it is able to follow the idea of the common good.

2. However, trade union pluralism alone will not ensure that our political and economic crisis can be resolved. What is also needed is the freedom of setting up self-government bodies and most varied associations—peasant, youth, local, economic, political, social, professional, and creative associations. Only thanks to such centers of social activity—centers that are free to propagate information—will it be possible to revive citizens' sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and the centers' social communities. That is why it is necessary at once to abandon the principle of making arbitrary administrative decisions for issuing permits for the activities of associations and to register all associations whose aims are not at odds with the law. It is also necessary to abandon the practice by which the authorities arbitrarily select spokesmen or members of the institutions created from above. The further process of political reforms should follow the line of cooperation between social forces and the power apparatus in favor of searching for new constitutional solutions and not merely in favor of repairing the existing system.

3. Preventing the coming economic and civilizational catastrophe with all its consequences for the the nation's future and for each one of our lives is a very urgent task. It is necessary to free our economy as soon as possible from its paralyzing features such as its subordination to the party apparatus and to the nomenklatura, excessive bureaucracy, unsettled principles of ownership, wilful taxation, and so on. Positive results of such measures can be expected as soon as a radical change in farm policy occurs. Multiplying advisory bodies, an activity for which it is already too late, is not important. What is important is to select the people capable of rescuing our economy and of winning society's trust.

Conscious of political risks and of the bitter experience of the past, we still declare our good will and expect rapid joint decisions, but not one more discussion in lieu of action. At the same time, we trust that the Catholic Church, which has always been bound up with the people, will use its authority in helping to find ways out of this extremely difficult situation.

Signed: Janusz Beksiak, economist; Jacek Bochenski, writer; Halina Bortnowska, journalist; Stefan Bratkowski, journalist; Ryszard Bugaj, economist; Zbigniew Bujak, technician; Marek Bak, metal worker in Stalowa Wola; Marian Chmiel, pediatrician; Jacek Czaputowicz, economist; Pawel Czartoryski, economist; Kazimierz Dziewanowski, journalist; Roman Duda, mathematician; Jerzy Dluzniewski, master weaver in Lodz; Marek Edelman, physician; Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, driver in Lower Silesia; Bronislaw Geremek, historian; Stanislawa Grabska, theologian; Antoni Grabarczyk, driver in Gdansk; Aleksander Hall, journalist; Julia Hartwig, poet; Stefania Hejmanowska, chemical technician in Gorzow Wielkopolski; Gabriel Janowski, farmer; Cezary Jozefiak, economist; Stefan Jurczak, technological specialist in Malopolska; Ryszard Kapuscinski, journalist; Jerzy Kloczowski, historian; Maja Komorowska, actress; Stefan Kisielewski, journalist; Krzysztof Kozlowski, journalist; Lech Kosiak, worker in Gdansk; Jacek Kuron, historian; Jacek Kurczewski, sociologist; Wladyslaw Kunicki-Goldfinger, biologist; Marcin Krol, historian; Zofia Kuratowska, physician; Jan Jozef Lipski, specialist in history of literature; Bogdan Lis, mechanic in Gdansk;

Wladyslaw Liwak, lawyer in Stalowa Wola; Witold Lutoslawski, composer; Andrzej Malanowski, lawyer; Jan Malanowski, sociologist; Jacek Merkel, engineer in Gdansk, Maciej Mach, specialist in electronics in Krakow; Adam Michnik, journalist; Andrzej Milczanowski, lawyer; Artur Miedzyrzeczki, poet; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, journalist; Edmund Jan Osmanczyk, journalist; Aleksander Paszynski, journalist; Joanna Pensonowa, physician; Janusz Palubicki, historian of art in Wielkopolska; Alojzy Pietrzyk, coalmine locksmith in Jastrzebie; Jerzy Puciala, sculptor; Maria Radomska, biologist; Ryszard Reiff, journalist; Edward Radziewicz, crane operator in Szczecin; Zbigniew Romaszewski, physicist; Jan Rosner, lawyer; Paulinite Father Jacek Salij, theologian; Henryk Samsonowicz, historian; Henryk Sienkiewicz, mining engineer in the Silesia-Dabrowa Basin; Andrzej Stelmachowski, lawyer; Adam Stanowski, sociologist; Stefan Starczewski, journalist; Grzegorz Stawski, coalmining foreman in Jastrzebie; Grazyna Staniszewska, professor in Polish language and literature in the Carpathian region; Antoni Stawikowski, astronomer in Torun; Stanislaw Stomma, lawyer; Andrzej Szczepkowski, actor; Klemens Szaniawski, philosopher; Krzysztof Sliwinski, journalist; Jozef Slisz, farmer; Father Jozef Tischner, philosopher; Jerzy Turowicz, journalist; Karol Taylor, biochemical specialist; Antoni Tokarczuk, sociologist in Bydgoszcz; Witold Trzeciakowski, economist; Andrzej Wajda, movie director; Zofia Wasilkowska, lawyer; Stanislaw Weglarz, miner, Andrzej Wielowieyski, journalist; Halina Winiarska, actress; Wiktor Woroszylski, writer; Henryk Wujec, physicist; Janina Zakrzewska, lawyer; Krystyna Zachwatowicz, scenograopher; Tadeusz Zielinski, lawyer; Janusz Ziolkowski, sociologist; Mieczyslaw Zlat, historian of art; Tomasz Zieminski, student; Stanislaw Zieba, locksmith in Krakow.

Survey Center Chief on Opposition Weakness

PM2709154388 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 12 Sep 88 p 4

[Commentary by Dr Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, political analyst and director of the Public Opinion Survey Center (CBOS); editorial note states that the item is reprinted fromr ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 8 September]

[Text] My views on the idea of roundtable talks are mostly full of patriotic accents. In my personal opinion it is a meeting between people who represent first and foremost a range of different interest groups. Although the table is going to be round, different sides will sit behind it with the purpose of conducting negotiations. Three of these sides are important: the party and government, the opposition, and the church. So far, the church side has been making the biggest capital out of such occasions—including political capital, although the church denies this. Since 1980 that capital has been augmented so much that by now the church hierarchy can afford to give alms from it, as mediator and moderator, to whomever it chooses.

The socioeconomic situation in Poland in which the talks will be held is no secret to any of us. If not for this situation, the roundtable would not be needed. We know that many people will take exception to this claim, but I could actually prove it at length. Let us leave the external background outside the scope of this commentary.

Now a few thoughts on the internal situation. In my opinion, it is a stalemate. Why? Because so far none of the the main political forces in Poland—legal or illegal—have been able to meet the tasks facing them: They cannot mobilize society to apply some consistent and constructive action program, to stimulate it to make the effort that is needed to emerge from the "tunnel"—which is the task facing those in positions of power—nor can they organize and lead it in a general protest against an ineffective policy line—which is the goal of opposition forces.

Unfortunately, the strength of the sides sitting at that table is determined not so much by their hold on their adherents' hearts and minds as their destructive capacity, their ability to hold the others back and counter everybody else's moves. Who would be capable of getting the people to rebel more quickly, and for what reason? For the time being, the only reasons that could provoke people to rebel are exclusively economic ones, which is amply evidenced by the two waves of strikes that we witnessed in Poland this year. This might sound paradoxical, but it is the authorities in power that hold the best chance of provoking the people to protest and rebel. One unpopular decision on their part is sufficient. Consequently, the opposition is the weaker side in every respect.

The strength of any political formation depends on its social infrastructure. Legal power structures enjoy the support of a significant majority of the Polish public, although since last autumn this support has notably diminished. Until recently the PZPR could count on enjoying the confidence of more than half of the adult population. Over the past several months that confidence has diminished dramatically as a result of the fiasco of the government's prices and incomes policy and the way in which it has been dragging its feet over the reform of the political system.

On the other hand, from 1983, that is, from the time of the first CBOS opinion polls, the opposition has never enjoyed the support of more than one-fourth of the adult population, while its social infrastructure—judged by people's declarations or, in other words, people's verbal rather than behavioral assertions—has totaled merely a few percent of the population.

Contrary to what might be expected, when the PZPR and legal power structures lose popularity, they do not by the same token lose their former supporters to the opposition. More than half of our adult population—which has until now remained totally passive politically—is indifferent to who is in power as long as they wield that power

wisely and effectively. This is demonstrated in such widely-held opinions as, for example, "I wish someone would sort this mess out at last," or "Give power to guys who are experts in economic management."

To put it in a nutshell, it was the torpor demonstrated by the party and the government which brought about the revival of Solidarity, allowed its cadre aktiv to regain positions of consequence in the political game, and resulted in a situation where Lech Walesa has had to be given a place at the roundtable.

In stating all this, I am merely ascertaining the objective state of affairs seen by me, as it were, from the wings. No one should construe from it that I see the roundtable talks as an act of defeatism on the part of the PZPR. I have always favored this kind of dialogue, as the annual meetings with opposition members organized by CBOS can testify. In my opinion the opposition is a valuable source for an intellectual "recharging of batteries" for any type of party. The ruling party always has an opposition cast in its own mold. The opposition is a reflection of the party.

What topics should be put on the roundtable agenda? Certainly the question of an "anticrisis pact" or, as it has been dubbed recently, a "proreform coalition." Although an anticrisis pact implies a defensive element, I would still advise all the negotiating sides to start by considering the question of how, for the sake of a common, overriding interest, to halt the spread of decay processes within the state and how to prevent things from getting out of control when the generation of twenty-year-olds clamoring for what they maintain is due to them begins to uproot and overthrow everything all over the place. Young rebels like that cannot be controlled by the party or by anyone else.

Of course, issues which are of the greatest consequence for Poland and her people are not going to be solved at the roundtable. A dialogue of elites is not enough. The decisive factors are to be found in the economy, in enterprises, in the working people's attitudes. Out of all the calls for democracy, the demands for the development of various forms of production or industrial democracy are the ones which require most urgent implementation. It is no good counting on the famed and longed-for spirit of enterprise and initiative, which is expected to be shown by work forces, if the functioning of self-management bodies, workers' councils, partnership groups, and other collective forms of work organization is to be hindered and blocked by bureaucrats as effectively as it has been until now.

Press on Journalists, Government, Strikes

AU2809135088 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Sep 88 p 2

[From the "Press Review"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] EXPRESS WIECZORNY on 9-11 September carries an interview with Artur Howzan, chairman of the Association of PPR Journalists, by Leslaw Sajdak. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Sajdak] Some of the highest quarters continue to accuse journalists of criticizing too much and of paying too little attention to the economic reform.

[Howzan] Everyone is called on to do a job, and promoting the economic reform is the government's and the economists' job. The journalists' job is to watch how that is done. Although we do not shape reality, it is our duty to fulfill control functions. That the means of communication in our country is now being criticized is a result of a certain helplessness. Singling out "cyclists and journalists" as the scapegoats for what is happening in our country is a substitute excuse. A representative of the administration has said frankly that the course of the reform is what it is because journalists continue to tie the hands of the central administration. Well, if journalists are so strong, then they should replace the present administration so that the next administration, by dint of its superior strength, would not allow journalists to tie its hands.

TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA on 9 September carries an interview with Professor Dr Leszek Gilejko of the Academy of Social Sciences, by Roman Debecki. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Gilejko] I am not at all sure whether reserving the largest number of ministerial posts for the PZPR is the best possible solution for the issue of government. I think that the Defense Ministry, for example, should be run by a member of the party in power because of the great importance of this ministry for our defense and because of our Warsaw Pact commitments. But I do not think that the Foreign Ministry should be run by a PZPR member, especially since this ministry was run just after the war by a person who was not a member of the Polish Workers Party. That nonparty minister did not in any way harm our interests. The Industry Ministry could also be run by a member of the SD or by a nonparty person. It is of capital importance that the person in charge of a ministry should know his job inside out. What we need is not only politicians, but experts as well, which means that persons who do not belong to the PZPR may prove to be the best experts.

KONFRONTACJE in its September 88 issue carries an interview with Docent Dr Jerzy Holzer, a Warsaw University historian, with Anna Bilska and Stefan Marody. Here is an excerpt from it:

[Holzer] The danger of radicalism will increase with every successive wave of strikes. It seems to me that the authority of the old Solidarity cadre may now still play a stabilizing role and put a brake on radicalism. Walesa has authority, and not only he.

I think that one reason why the government finds the going more difficult is that time is not in on its side. The government suffers from procrastination. If accord is really to be achieved, it should be achieved as soon as possible, because radicals may start evading the control

of Solidarity if they assume that the opposition symbolized by Walesa inhibits them too much. Such radicalization of attitudes is bound to cause radicalization on the part of the government. If the big stick policy were to be suggested, I think that, judging by the tenor of some speeches, segments of the apparatus would go for it.

Zielona Gora Party Plenum Members Remarks Noted

AU2609135488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 88 p 2

[Report by Jerzy Nogiec: "Zielona Gora: Switching Over To an Offensive"]

[Text] In recent years, our party organizations have assumed the defensive and displayed little initiative. This is not only to the advantage of the political adversary, but also of conservative forces inside the party itself. This was one of the highlights of the speech by Zbigniew Nieminski, first secretary of the Zielona Gora Voivodship PZPR Committee, at this Committee's 19 September plenum.

The meeting discussed how party organizations are meant to behave in the country's changing political situation and during changes to the authorities' structure, as well as how they are to adopt strategic plans of action. It also discussed how to mobilize the economy's remaining reserves in order to alleviate the difficult market situation. Comrade Nieminski said that the previous style of party work based on giving orders and making decisions on behalf of others is receding into the past and that the new party tasks will not be easy. Many other participants said the same.

Jan Piotrowiak from Gozdnica said that the party should be prepared for the difficult years ahead, that neither a change of government nor the roundtable will solve anything automatically, and that the party will continue to be blamed for all our failures for many years to come.

Many people said that party bodies should display their militancy not only by monitoring the work of the central authorities, but also by improving the work of the milieus to which they belong. Party members should take active part in the work of self-management bodies, which are assuming greater importance and, by means of their own energetic work, are capable of achieving many improvements.

Andrzej Styczynski from Swiebodzin criticized the fact that party members are frequently surprised by decisions that are quite the opposite from previous ones. This hampers political work and blunts militancy of action.

The problem of individual responsibility was raised by Jerzy Wardega from Nowa Sol, who called for detailed investigations into the spheres of responsibility of people occupying leadership posts and the effectiveness of their work.

Everyone is very interested in what is happening inside the central authorities, but it is enterprise managements that are the chief subject of criticism that is not always unjustified, said Jan Piotrowiak. The problem of selecting managerial cadres is still an open one.

Roundup of 19th Sep Sejm Session Speeches

AU2709112188 [Editorial Report] Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish on 20 September carries on pages 4, 5, 6, an unattributed, approximately 11,000-word roundup on the 19th September Sejm session debate headlined "The Deputies' Debate" describing speeches made from the floor by PPR Sejm deputies. In addition to the speeches covered by the referent items, the paper reports contributions to the debate made by the following deputies: Stanislaw Opalko, of the PZPR, who calls for a balanced appraisal of the government's performance; Edward Kowalczyk, of the SD, who emphasizes the need for political change aimed at promoting accord; Malgorzata Niepokulczycka, an independent, who speaks on improving the quality of consumer goods; Czeslaw Mularski, of the PZPR, who points to shortcomings in credit and fiscal policy; Walenty Milenuszkin, an independent, who argues that tougher disciplinary action must be taken against workers who stage illegal strikes; Tadeusz Bilinski, of the PZPR, who notes that insufficient progress has been made in changing the structure of investment; Jozef Szawiec, of the SD, who criticizes enterprise management and notes that current mechanisms promote exports at the expense of the domestic market; Zdislaw Skakuj, an independent, who suggests that there is a need for more legislation that will further curb the government's ability to intervene in the economy; Wieslaw Gwizdz, an independent, who advocates changes in the system of government that will permit participation by a broader cross-section of society; and Zygmunt Kubicki, an independent, who urges that more resources be made available for housing construction programs.

Communique on Nigeria's Aikhomu Visit

AU2709160588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Sep 88 p 5

["Communique on the Official Visit Paid by Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, General Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Prime Minister, to the Socialist Republic of Romania" 20-23 September]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister [as published], Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania from 20-23 September 1988.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister, during his visit to our country.

On behalf of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and Mrs Mariam Badamasi Babandiga, a cordial message of friendship and best wishes for good health and personal happiness was conveyed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, together with best wishes for progress and prosperity to the Romanian people.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, expressed thanks for the message and wishes, and in turn asked the guest to extend cordial greetings and best wishes for good health and personal happiness to President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida and Mrs Mariam Badamasi Babangida, as well as wishes for prosperity and progress to the Nigerian people.

During the official talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, the prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, and the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, noted the decisive role played by the summit dialogue in developing and intensifying relations between Romania and Nigeria.

The two prime ministers briefed each other on Romania's and Nigeria's current concerns in the area of socioeconomic development and examined the current stage of bilateral relations in all fields of activity.

The two sides noted with satisfaction the positive development of Romanian-Nigerian trade and reaffirmed their desire to work together in close cooperation to expand and diversify these exchanges in the future.

Building on the positive results attained so far in the area of economic and technical cooperation, the two prime ministers agreed on measures aimed at completing projects in progress and finalizing negotiations on new projects of common interest.

The prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister assessed that the economic and scientific-technical potential of Romania and Nigeria, as well as the requirements and programs for economic development of the two countries offer extensive opportunities to expand their mutually advantageous economic cooperation, especially in the industrial, oil, transportation, construction, telecommunication, agricultural, and other areas.

It was agreed to intensify the activity of the joint Government Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation so that it contributes to a greater extent to expanding trade and bilateral economic cooperation. For this purpose, they agreed that the next joint commission session should be organized in Lagos in the first quarter of 1989.

The main results of the talks were recorded in a protocol signed by the two prime ministers at the end of the visit, which includes guidelines and actions aimed at further expanding Romanian-Nigerian economic cooperation.

The two prime ministers agreed to speed up negotiations to sign, as soon as possible, a long-term agreement on developing economic and technical cooperation and trade between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and an agreement on promoting and mutually guaranteeing capital investments.

The prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister had a broad exchange of views on the major problems of the current international situation and reaffirmed their countries' determination to work in close cooperation to halt the arms race, eliminate nuclear weapons, achieve a comprehensive disarmament program, solve all disputes solely by peaceful means, establish a new world economic order, and to strengthen peace, security, and international cooperation.

The two sides expressed their confidence that the Vienna All-European Conference will achieve agreements and work out tangible measures aimed at developing cooperation among all European countries, at disarmament, and at strengthening security in Europe.

The prime minister of the Romanian Government and the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister expressed serious concern with the critical situation in Southern Africa and firmly condemned the apartheid

policy and racial discrimination, the repressive measures taken by the authorities in South Africa against the majority people in that country, and the actions taken by the racist regime aimed at destabilizing the independent states in that area and throughout the continent.

The prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister expressed their satisfaction with the results of the official visit and of the talks that took place on this occasion, and noted that this will contribute to strengthening and intensifying relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and prime minister, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, expressed thanks for the warm reception and generous hospitality he and his delegation enjoyed, and extended an invitation to the prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Constantin Dascalescu, to pay an official visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the not too distant future.

The invitation was accepted. The date of the visit will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

Cooperation Detailed at Embassy Conference

AU2809192688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/9/1988—A news conference was held at the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest on 28 September when I.A. Belyakov, secretary of the Moscow town CPSU Committee, now in Romania as head of a delegation at the invitation of Bucharest Municipal Committee of the RCP, presented aspects of the economic and social development of the Soviet capital. Stress was also laid on the fine ties of many-sided cooperation established between Romania and the USSR, between the two countries' capitals.

Ceausescu, Commune Exchange Messages

Commune Expresses Appreciation

AU2709171788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 88 p 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania" by the participants in the civic rally, held on 22 September in Treznea-Agrij Commune]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania: The elevating moment of touching solemnity generated by the letter that you sent to us, is a new and wonderful opportunity for us, the old and young inhabitants of the Treznea-Agris Commune, Salaj County, to express, from the bottom of our hearts, our feelings of warm gratitude, love, and high appreciation for you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, outstanding revolutionary militant and ardent patriot, the brilliant founder of the modern Romania, and illustrious personality of our times.

At this ardent moment of great celebration and boundless joy, we consider the noble duty of our hearts and conscience to solemnly state that everything, the durable and magnificent things we have achieved in Treznea-Agrij County and Salaj County in the glorious years that have elapsed since the historical Ninth RCP Congress and the wonderful working and living prospects that opened up for us. We owe this to you, the communist fighter, whose life and heroic revolutionary activity represent for us and for the entire Romanian people the supreme symbol of love for the nation and homeland and of the will to unflinchingly serve the cause of socialism and communism on the dear soil of our homeland. Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the historic event in which today we participate with our hearts beating with great patriotic pride, is for us, new and conclusive proof of the greatly democratic character of our society and of your deeply humane and revolutionary concept of building socialism with the people and for the people, under the generous sign of the vivid, fertile, and creative dialogue with all categories of working people throughout our country.

We take this opportunity to express our feelings of great respect and regard for much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, outstanding politician and scientist of world renown, and for her greatly important contribution to working out and implementing the policy of our party and state, to ensure the comprehensive development of Romanian science, education, and culture.

We are highly grateful to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for naming our locality Treznea-Agrij Commune and for granting it the status of seat of joint state and cooperative agroindustrial council; we firmly believe that this ancient Romanian soil, just like the entire country, will continue to advance on the prosperous and flourishing paths of socialist civilization.

The fact that our sons grow up, study, and take shape in a climate of tranquility, well-being, and peace we owe to your steady concern for ensuring that everything that is being achieved in our homeland should serve man and the continuous development of his material, intellectual, and cultural well-being and his level of civilization. Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General, we will bear forever in our conscience your warm and generous recommendations that the heavy losses suffered by the inhabitants of our commune in the struggle for social liberation, national independence, and for a better life should be a strong impetus to increase our contribution to the wonderful work of building socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

Just like all the sons of our homeland, we, the inhabitants of Treznea-Agrij Commune, are fully aware that we should work with the greatest communist and revolutionary responsibility, continue to develop and modernize the locality where we live and work, and increase its economic potential, because this is the sound guarantee for our happy future, for ensuring a climate of understanding, equality, and respect among people, and for ensuring our firm advance on the path of progress and civilization.

We assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General, that we will do all we can to honor with new and important achievements the trust you put in us and we will implement in an exemplary way your recommendations to fulfill the objectives of the new agrarian revolutions, expand and diversify the activity of small-scale industry and services, and develop and modernize education, culture, and health care. We have everything we need so that, on the basis of your generous concept of developing and modernizing all the localities of our country, we will be able to draw a new and strong agroindustrial civic center on the map of our homeland, the name of which—Treznea-Agrij—has a historical resonance and should remain forever as erect and bold evidence of what a free people who are masters of their destinies can accomplish in accordance with their own wishes and through their own work.

Strongly mobilized by your recommendations, we assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that they will be reflected in our work, in the unity of thought and work of all our citizens, and in their unanimous determination to unflinchingly follow the heroic example of work and struggle you permanently set, with a view toward implementing the April Theses and the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the Party National Conference. We will work as you requested, with utmost responsibility and devotion, to obtain outstanding results in fulfilling the plans and the programs for the socioeconomic development of our commune, thus we shall meet the 14th RCP Congress and the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation with new achievements.

In these moments of magnificent contemporary history, we, all the citizens of Treznea-Agrij Commune, solemnly pledge, under the sign of our boundless gratitude, to implement in an exemplary way the wonderful prospects in development which open up before our locality, whose socialist renaissance will be indestructibly linked forever to your name and heroic activity, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the wise promoter of the communist development of our homeland and the hero of world peace, of understanding, and international cooperation.

We are highly grateful for everything you have done and continue to do for our and the whole nation's well-being and happiness, and we respectfully ask you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, and much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to permit us to wholeheartedly extend to you ardent wishes for a long and fruitful life, for much good health and working energy, and for new and brilliant successes, to ensure the glory of the RCP and the more marked assertion of our dear homeland, Socialist Romania, as a free, sovereign, and independent country, in the ranks of all the other countries of the world.

Long live much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

The participants in civic rally held in Treznea-Agrij Commune, Salaj County

Ceausescu Praises Inhabitants

AU2709170588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 88 p 1

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Letter to the Inhabitants of Treznea-Agrij Commune, Salaj County"]

[Text] Dear comrades; I received with particular interest the telegram you sent me on behalf of the participants in the civic rally and all the inhabitants of your commune—an old Romanian settlement, with old, rich traditions in work and life, for the well-being and the happiness of our whole nation. I take this opportunity to extend to you all warm, comradely, and revolutionary greetings and best wishes.

I learned with great satisfaction about the fine results that you have achieved and continue to achieve in all fields of activity through united work, headed by the Communists. Just like all the other localities of our homeland, the commune in which you work and live went through a vast process of renewal in the years of socialism, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, through the implementation of the policy of harmonious development of all regions of our country and the policy of improving the general living, material, and cultural standards of the whole nation. I would like to convey to you my warmest congratulations for the results you have achieved in developing the technical-material base of all economic branches and, within the framework of the activity to develop and modernize localities through building new sociocultural establishments aimed at ensuring increasingly favorable working and living conditions and an appropriate framework for professional and cultural training, and to shape the new awareness, which is in keeping with the fine conditions that are specific to our socialist society. The new and prosperous life led by the inhabitants of your commune and the good results you register every year, compared to what you had in the past, strongly prove that only under conditions of socialism, when the people are truly free and the masters of their own destinies—taking organizational and modernization measures in all areas, on the basis of the latest discoveries in science and human knowledge—

can the working people, working in unity under the leadership of the party, shape their happy future and ensure an increasingly higher level of civilization.

I am familiar with your commune's history, which is full of outstanding patriotic deeds. Indeed, important events in the struggle for social freedom, national independence, and a better life are closely linked to the name of your commune. The heavy losses suffered by the inhabitants of your commune in this struggle should be a strong impetus for us to do all we can, and see to it that the painful events of the past will never be repeated under any circumstances. These losses should also be a strong impetus to work in unity and thus make an increasingly greater contribution to the development and prosperity of your locality.

We pay tribute to the historic past of your commune and to the results you have obtained in raising it to the level of the industrial-agrarian localities, and I would like to inform you that we fully agree with the proposal you voiced at the civic rally to name this administrative-territorial unit Treznea-Agrij.

Likewise, I agree with the proposal to grant this commune the status of seat of the joint state and cooperative agroindustrial council. I believe that, in the vast process of developing and modernizing the localities of our homeland and ensuring their increasingly prosperous and flourishing life, this measure will be a strong impetus for the Communists and for all the inhabitants of Treznea-Agrij Commune to work even more resolutely and turn this locality into a strong agroindustrial center in the shortest time possible.

Dear inhabitants of Treznea-Agrij Commune, the proposals expressed at your civic rally are a vivid expression of our workers' revolutionary democracy which, in the great work of socialist construction with the people and for the people, ensures a broad framework for the participation of all our citizens in working out and implementing the great plans to develop the homeland, the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the Party National Conference, and the brilliant program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and ensuring the country's progress toward communism.

I believe that your initiatives and pledges will be a brilliant example of communist and revolutionary activity for all the inhabitants in the villages and communes of our homeland, aimed at the unflinching implementation of the policy of our party to change the Romanian village and raise it to a high level of socialist civilization—by ensuring that the working, education, health, and cultural conditions in villages increasingly approach the conditions prevailing in towns—and to establish a society of equality, justice, and well-being for all the citizens of our homeland.

We have the necessary conditions to see to it that each locality develops greatly, acquires an increasingly prosperous face, and fully asserts itself in the socioeconomic and cultural life of our country. All the inhabitants in villages should be aware that, by working for a strong economic increase and for the development of the locality in which they live, they will contribute to the development of their own material and cultural standard of living, and to the general efforts aimed at raising our homeland to new pinnacles of progress and civilization and shaping the new type of man, the conscious builder of socialism and communism, who is complete master of his own destiny.

Dear citizens of Treznea-Agrij Commune—once again I extend to you warmest congratulations for your results and your determination to carry out steady activity, aimed at the unflinching implementation of the measures for socioeconomic development of the locality in which you live and work, for the benefit and happiness of all the inhabitants, and for the progress and prosperity of our whole nation!

I extend to you all wishes for ever greater successes in your activity, and I extend to you heartfelt wishes for health and happiness!

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

SFRY Presidency Meets on Current Issues

Kosovo Emigration Discussed

LD2809220888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency session held on 27 September, which was presided over by President Raif Dizdarevic, looked at the realization of the Yugoslav program of measures and activities to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, to aid the more rapid return of those who have left, and to aid the arrival of all who wish to live and work in Kosovo. As announced today, taking part in the work of the session were the presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and the top officials of the organs of the federation.

Proceeding from the assessment that the Yugoslav program, together with the stances of the LCY, established at the congresses and in the LCY Central Committee, is a realistic platform for the stabilization of the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo by democratic means, the SFRY Presidency stressed that of key importance in its realization is the creation of conditions to renew and strengthen intranational trust together with all necessary measures to establish the security of private property and the security and equality of all citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. All this is an essential condition for the successful struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and the removal of the causes of all consequences of the counterrevolution in the SAP of Kosovo.

It was stressed that it is of exceptional importance to fully and consistently implement all short-term and long-term measures of the Yugoslav program. The current tasks of the program must be completed within the envisaged deadlines, and the long-term ones must be continuously realized on the basis of the operational programs drawn up which should be amended in good time. The need was particularly emphasized for the competent organs in Kosovo to establish a program of demographic policies as soon as possible as this has major and long-term social, economic and social importance for the stabilization of the situation and development of the SAP of Kosovo.

On the basis of the report of the competent organs, the Presidency assessed that a number of tasks are being completed within the envisaged deadlines, which is having certain positive effects. With the pooling of labor and resources of associated labor organizations in the SAP of Kosovo and from other parts of the country, several production capacities have been built; on the basis of the compulsory loan to the economy of Kosovo significant funds have been remitted, the repayments of annuities have been deferred, a portion of the exchange rate differences has been covered, and of associated labor organizations have been relieved of payment of certain duties. All these and other measures have contributed to increased production and employment and the easing of the material position of the SAP of Kosovo.

In addition, professional cooperation is being realized and assistance in the form of cadres is being afforded to the judicial organs in the SAP of Kosovo, as a result of which the efficiency of the courts is increasing. Cases are being resolved more rapidly in the organs of the administration, especially when it is a question of citizens of different nationalities. Activities are being continued in forming new municipalities; the internal affairs organs, in cooperation with the federal and republican organs, have achieved significant results in uncovering illegal groups of Albanian nationalists and separatists; as of this school year, the study of the language of the social environment has been introduced.

The SFRY Presidency calls for the despatch of professional cadres from the Socialist Republics and the SAP of Vojvodina and assistance to the administrative organs in the SAP of Kosovo to be speeded up.

The Presidency, like the SFRY Assembly Chambers in July this year, judged that, despite the measures taken, the basic goals of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo are not being realized—the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins has not been halted, and not enough has been done for the return of those who have emigrated from the SAP of Kosovo and for the arrival of all who wish to live and work in Kosovo.

The Presidency was informed that the decision on the deployment and direct involvement of units of the militia of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in 22 places in the Province has been implemented. A large number of inspectors and other specialists of the services of state and public security from all the republics, the SAP of Vojvodina and the SFRY are also already involved in carrying out security tasks in the Province. The Presidency decided that it would shortly review the results of the involvement of the members of the state and public security services in Kosovo, and if necessary, will promptly take additional measures.

The presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces informed the SFRY Presidency about the activities of the state organs and other social factors in carrying out their obligations under the Yugoslav program. The reports indicate that initial steps have been taken in this and that certain problems exist because of a lack of funds. The Presidency stressed that it is essential to persevere with these activities.

The Presidency resolutely demands that the accountability of the exponents of particular obligations in carrying out the commitments of the Yugoslav program be heightened at all levels. The assemblies of sociopolitical communities and other competent organs are bound without delay to call to account any exponent of commitments if they are not carrying them out in the manner

and within the time limit envisaged in the program. This also relates to accountability for failure to carry out obligations set out in programs in the republics and autonomous provinces.

The Presidency stressed that a particularly important precondition for carrying out the Yugoslav program on Kosovo is the full mobility of all organs, particularly the state organs in the SAP of Kosovo. These organs are duty bound to react energetically to any phenomenon and event and above all to those which most disturb citizens and incite intranational divisions and the worsening of the overall situation in the province and the whole country.

The Federal Executive Council and the federal administrative organs which bear responsibility for carrying out the obligations of the programme within the framework of their rights and duties should utilize all possibilities for influencing the implementation of those obligations in the Yugoslav program which the organs in the Republics and Autonomous Provinces are obliged to realize, the statement from the session of the SFRY Presidency states.

Meeting on Economy, Mubarak Visit

LD2909130188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 29 Sep 88

["Statement From a Session of the SFRY Presidency"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—At its 28 September session, presided over by President Raif Dizdarevic, the SFRY Presidency discussed an FEC report on current economic trends.

The SFRY Presidency is reported to have considered, within the same framework, the course of preparations for a joint session with the FEC to discuss the implementation so far of this year's economic policy objectives and the work on specific comprehensive economic reforms and their implementation.

The SFRY Presidency also heard a report on the recent working and friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt. It was said that on this occasion that once again, traditional friendship and the proximity of views of the two nonaligned countries on international situation, as well as on the need and potentials for further enhancing bilateral, and particularly economic cooperation were in the foreground of the visit. The visit was described as providing an incentive for the more rapid development of economic and other forms of cooperation between the two countries and for their joint efforts on the international scene, and particularly in the Nonaligned Movement.

20,000 at Solidarity Meeting in Bujanovac

LD2809124388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 28 SEP 88

[Text] Bujanovac, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—With the strains from the Yugoslav national anthem, a meeting of brotherhood and unity, togetherness and solidarity with the disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo started in Bujanovac this morning. The meeting is attended by approximately 20,000 people from Bujanovac, southern Serbia, Macedonia, and Kosovo.

This meeting of solidarity in Marshal Tito Square started at 1155 precisely. This was a symbolic way of expressing the view that there is no time to lose and that the problems have to be resolved immediately.

Twelve of the 13 speakers at today's meeting are of Albanian nationality.

Official Assesses Meeting

LD2809174488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Bujanovac, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The meeting of brotherhood and unity, togetherness and solidarity in Bujanovac represents a genuine manifestation of brotherhood and unity and has lived up to expectations.

This official evaluation of the meeting was stated by Zivota Matic, president of the Bujanovac SAWP Municipal Committee, who stressed that at this meeting there were some 30,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians, Romanies, Turks, Bulgarians, and other nationalities present. They expressed great support for the disenfranchised inhabitants of Kosovo and urged them to persevere in their just struggle for survival.

Support was given at the meeting, Matic stressed, for the LCY to proceed more quickly with changes and there was a strong demand for the realization of constitutional changes and for Serbia to be constituted as a united socialist republic.

Kosovo Statement on Arrested Pamphleteers

LD2809164688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The security services of Kosovo yesterday arrested 42 persons, who, in the framework of organized, hostile, illegal groups, carried out organized actions of daubing hostile slogans and distributing pamphlets in several municipalities in this province. Of these, 17 are from the area of Urosevac, 5 from Orahovac, 5 from Podujevo, 3 from Pristina and 3 from Kosovoska Vitina, 2 from Lipljan, 2 from Glogovac, 2 from Gnjilane and 2 from Prizren, while 1 is from Presevo. Most of them are students (22) or unemployed (12), 3 are teachers, 2 are workers, and 1 is an engineer. There is also 1 pupil from secondary school among them. Of the total number of arrestees, eight are female. As today's statement

by the Kosovo Provincial Secretariat for Internal affairs says, 23 have previously been engaged in hostile activity, while 18 of them have already been before the courts. Of those arrested, most are under 26 years of age, while the others are (?between the ages of 20 and 35). A number of them possessed arms without a licence from the competent organs. During a search of their flats, houses, and other rooms, workers of the State Security Service found and confiscated a certain amount of material with a hostile-propaganda content, such as the text of an oath given by members of the group, the magazine LIRIJA of the Albanian hostile emigration, hostile pamphlets, audio and video cassettes with a hostile content, and suchlike. Apart from this, 5 pistols, 2 hunting carbines, pistol and other ammunition, and 10 typewriters were discovered in their homes and confiscated.

Measures to further investigate their overall hostile activity are underway and according to what has been learned and the information which has come to light so far, criminal proceedings will be brought against a largish number of the detained persons and other appropriate legal measures will be taken, says the statement from the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Vojvodina Officials Blame LCY for Problems

LD2809224788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Novi Sad, September 28 (TANJUG)—The provincial committee of the League of Communists of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina today rejected the attacks on Vojvodina provincial leaders, whose sacking has lately often been demanded at the meetings of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins who are moving out of the troubled province of Kosovo.

Speaking at a session of the provincial committee in Novi Sad, party Presidency member Svetozar Jovanovic said the responsibility for the actions of the Albanian irredentists in Kosovo rests on "every single person in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), on the organs and institutions of the entire system," but that the responsibility cannot be established through "off-hand, individual attacks on the leaderships and individuals in them."

Jovanovic was alluding to the increasingly frequent demands for the sacking of the most responsible officials in Vojvodina at the series of meetings of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo throughout Serbia, Montenegro and Vojvodina. According to the demands, the officials are obstructing the adoption of the amendments to the Serbian constitution which will give the republic broader authorization over the territory of its automomous provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. At these meetings the citizens offered their support to the leadership of Serbia which believes the constitutional amendments will solve the problem of Kosovo, where Albanian chauvinists and separatists are using pressures and terror to force the Serbs and Montenegrins to move out. Over the past seven years, over 30,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of the province.

The Vojvodina leadership has so far sharply criticized the meetings of solidarity with the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins (one of the largest meetings was held recently in the capital of this province). At today's provincial committee meeting, however, it was said that the meetings are a true reflection of the dissatisfaction over the inefficacy in solving the Kosovo drama. It was said, nevertheless, that there are instances of "grave misuse of the suffering of the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo" at the meetings in order to stoke nationalistic passion and underscore demands which "run contrary to the socialist, self-managing and independent course" of Yugoslavia.

Roundup of Press Reaction to Setinc Resignation

LD2809141288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 28 (TANJUG)—The resignation of Franc Setinc from the top Yugoslav party leadership today continued to arouse different comments in the Yugoslav papers. Their joint assessment is that the irrevocable resignation was submitted by the wrong man, one of the last officials from whom such a step should be asked or expected.

The assessments of the reasons behind his resignation differ widely, and do not depend only on the republican or provincial origin of the papers.

The commentator of the daily VJESNIK states that a humanist and democrat is leaving the political scene, a person who was not once called to account or responsibility by the people gathered at solidarity meetings which are being held throughout the Republic of Serbia and in Montenegro and was in this way an exception for other public figures.

The daily BORBA carries a similar assessment. Recalling the recently offered (but not accepted) resignation of League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee member Radovan Radonjic, BORBA states that the practice continues of certain officials being called to account, others offering their resignation, while the actual responsibility lies elsewhae. The number of top party leadership members who have been called to account at various meetings, rallies and gatherings has most certainly passed fifty. BORBA warns that this has now become an avalanche that is difficult to stop.

Some, like the daily VJESNIK, see in the reasons Setinc stated for his irrevocable resignation a voice of reason and warning "the truth stated with dignity and honesty that the final hour has come for a sobering in Yugoslavia, because we are headed for darkness and hopelessness". Others, like the daily POLITIKA, ask whether the act of

resignation is a classical example of imputation that everything taking place in Serbia portends far more danger to the stability of Yugoslavia than anything else.

Although Franc Setinc clearly stated he was submitting his resignation because he could not accept the methods of work in the top party leadership and that, among other things, he disagreed with the manipulation of the hardships and emotions of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins and the unfounded calling to account of certain officials, POLITIKA's commentator finds Setinc's resignation "understandable from the human point of view, but difficult to explain from the political". POLITIKA also asks whether this is a strategic game ahead of the upcoming seventeenth session of the LCY Central Committee.

By signing the explanation for his resignation which, to say the least, gives rise to dilemmas and misunderstandings, Setinc's final political move necessarily raises the question of why he handed in his resignation at this moment, POLITIKA writes.

The daily JEDINSTVO, published in Serbo-Croat in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, reacted most sharply to the reasons for Setinc's resignation. It accuses him of consciously keeping quiet in the face of the brutality of Albanian chauvinists and separatists who have for years been committing genocide over the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

Jedinstvo states that the impression is gained that Setinc has purposely used the calls to arms and threats against individuals (who spoke at public rallies) as a counter-argument to hostile pamphlets by Albanian chauvinists and separatists who are calling Albanians to an uprising and rebellion. The daily also accuses Setinc of turning a blind eye to instances of counter-revolutionary activity in his party base in the republic of Slovenia and states that his resignation comes as result of his view of nationalism in the Republic of Serbia, and that he clearly attaches responsibilty for this nationalism to the Serbian leadership.

The daily BORBA fully stands behind Setinc's explanation and goes further and warns that the street democracy is not a good method for political fighting, that passions and emotions were never guidelines for good solutions. BORBA demands that the party leadership immediately state its position on the calling to account of individuals and that is should state who is responsible for what and to what extent, taking all facts in account.

SSOJ Presidium Session Cable 26 Sep

LD2609220688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 26 sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The SSOJ Presidium sent the following telegram from its session today in Pristina:

"The protest by schoolchildren of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in Pristina and Urosevac is one more proof of the incompetence of the most responsible social subjects in resolving the problems in Kosovo. The Presidium of the SSOJ Conference believes that it is necessary to set about eliminating immediately and in a more relevant way all the phenomena which are the reason for these events.

We support the statements by the schoolchildren of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in favor of more humane and free conditions for their life and we believe that, together with their comrades of Albanian nationality, and within the framework of the organisation of the Socialist Youth Federation, they will contribute to the most rapid possible solution of this social problem."

This move was initiated by the SSOJ Presidium session by Nedeljko Tica, president of the Vojvodina youth organizaiton. Otherwise the decision to send the telegram, which the SSOJ Presidium adopted with two votes against, was preceded by an hour's very polemical debate about the correctness of this action.

Commentary: Slogans Go 'Dangerously Too Far'

AU2809122088 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 26 Sep 88 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Mitja Mersol: "A Call for Lynching?"]

[Text] "Comrade Stanovnik, where are you resident?" [stanovnik in Serbo-Croatian means "resident, inhabitant"] "Smole! Serbia is not the relay race!" [alluding to Slovene opposition to the Youth Relay Race in 1987] These and similar slogans were seen this weekend at rallies in Nis and other places. It is obvious that the protesters have chosen precisely Slovene sociopolitical workers as the targets of their most vituperative attacks (Stane Dolanc, Sergej Kraigher, and Franc Setinc are also mentioned frequently), as if they were to blame for all the troubles and difficulties in this state, including the Kosovo problem. Various public speakers also are not restrained in their accusations against Slovene politicians. There is no shortage of falsified quotations, either....

Not that we want to automatically protect every politician in our immediate vicinity. After all, every public worker must expect reaction to his public statements and must bear responsibility for them. However, the drive against the Slovene political leadership at rallies and in the press has reached the point when a line should be drawn between public criticism and an abusive and howling call for lynching. In the name of cultured, law-abiding, human society, one should resolutely say No to the latter.

Indeed, the street and the crowd in the street always need enemies, for this is the only way to maintain the incessant dance of passions, in which it is the easiest to call to

arms while there is little sign of brotherhood at work. However, the crowd does not think of the names unaided, but chiefly just repeats them. After whom does the crowd repeat the names, and in whose interest? It is also undisputable that the banners, so neatly written, do not arise spontaneously, just as it is obvious that their content is getting farther and farther away from Kosovo. All this has gone dangerously too far indeed.

Smole Resents 'Dirty Methods' in Campaign

AU2809154888 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Text] Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia, has reacted to statements by Drago Samardzic of Pristina, a speaker at a protest meeting, who accused Joze Smole of preaching to Serbia and of advocating tyrannical democracy and who said that during his recent visit to Kosovo, Smole had only found time for hunting in Brezovica and for talking with Daut Jasanica, a man not to be trusted. Joze Smole also reacted to Bozo Bozic, who writing in Belgrade POLITIKA today saying that Smole still does not want to understand what the actual situation in Kosovo is, that he is satisfied with information received from Vlasi, and that he has no time for those suffering in Kosovo but considers hunting chamois in Brezovica more important.

Joze Smole stated that these were fresh specific examples that demonstrated what dirty methods were being used by those who are conducting a campaign against the representatives of Slovenia and against Joze Smole himself.

I am not a hunter, and I have never hunted, and above all I have never been in Brezovica, Joze Smole declared.

Commentary Notes Presence of Serbian Extremists

AU2909111688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 88 p 2

[V. N. Dzafo commentary: "The Shadows of Black Clouds"]

[Text] Like true hosts, Novi Sad people last Sunday welcomed with bread and showered with flowers Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and those who had come to Novi Sad from other places in Vojvodina and elsewhere to once again justifiably highlight all the tragedy of the Kosovo drama. Newspaper journalists noted and the Jugoalat organizers assessed that the rally was magnificent and it passed off in a dignified way and without incident.

It is not obligatory that the assessments and judgments of one event must be colored with what can be called an impression or with something more than that. The point is that there can be no doubt that from meeting to meeting of solidarity with the disenfranchized Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo there moves, travels, cruises, and has now arrived in Novi Sad a not all that small group of characteristically "conspicuous" young man in the face of which an observer must feel more than just visual discomfort.

They wear black suits, black shirts, black socks, black shoes, black ties, traditional Serbian caps, and Montenegrin caps which just about cover the hair and beards. They are young men who would be more suited to being clean shaven and whose years do not fit the evil memories, the symbols, signs, colors, hair, and not even the beards. This is horrifying as they seem to want to remind us of some dark times in our past. As a rule they are the most vociferous, the noisiest, and at times visibly aggressive. On the front of the traditional national caps they have emblems with the well-known four "S" letters in Cyrillic [as on the Serbian coat of arms] or they wear for the same purpose a cap or shirt or badges printed with the same symbol. A similar unappealing impression was caused by the appearance of a similar group of young men at the rally in Vrsac who carried the flag of the SR of Serbia.

At the rallies at which the people who are unable to suffer any longer and await the unravelling of the dangerously entangled Kosovo knot, loudly show that the time has past for the Kosovo tortuous stumbling to be halted, it is the people themselves and their justified fury who must disassociate themselves from the look of professional, wrongly oriented rally participants of a recognizably sinister milieu. This should be done not because they cast a shadow over such meetings but because it is possible to predict how that shadow could be even blacker.

Slovenia's Stanovnik on Jansa Trial, Army

AU2809092288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Sep 88 p 2

[Ivan Gerencer report: "A Man Who Knows Too Much But Cannot Do Anything"]

[Text] Ljutomer, 19 Sep—After the Sunday meeting to mark the 120th anniversary of the first Slovene national rally, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, accompanied by Joze Skoljc, president of the Republican Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation, met Ljutomer youths. They told him that by spreading rumors about provocations that they planned during the celebrations, they only wanted to ensure a frank conversation with the President of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, and they succeeded in that.

Janez Stanovnik frankly told Ljutomer youths, who received him with applause, that he had never imagined that he will spend much time from his election to this day on police and judicial matters, which have burdened him all the time. Asked what he thought about the trial of Jansa, Borstner, Tasic, and Zavrl, he said that he did not know any more than what he had already stated in public. He repeated that all the time he advocated a

public trial, except for the part that concerned military secrets. "The accused should have a free choice of counsel, civilian or military. After all, civilian lawyers are under oath, too, like the military lawyers, and must not betray military secrets. I have been informed that the military defense lawyers behaved in a professional way. It is clear, however, that participation of respected legal and juridical experts at the trial would immensely increase the prestige of the Yugoslav People's Army and the country," Janez Stanovnik told the young people.

He said that a complete analysis of the juridical proceedings will be made after they are completed. It will be made after the proceedings are completed because we in Slovenia do not wish and we do not want to hear reproaches that we want to influence the independence of courts.

Slovene politics, or rather Slovene politicians should not be regarded as people who fail to be concerned about everything that happens. They want to make sure that our life is democratic. Speaking about the Military Council, Janez Stanovnik stressed that the shorthand notes of Milan Kucan's speech [in the LCY Presidium on 29 March] are known to the public. "It is known today that neither the state Presidency nor the party Presidium knew about the Military Council declaration. I would not wish to say more about it now, because those matters occurred before I took over my duties in the Slovene Presidency."

Janez Stanovnik also agreed that pressure exists in Yugoslavia, but Slovene politicians are not a bunch of cowards without courage and determination. He added that he believed young people are ruled by their hearts, but because they do not know everything, they sometimes act against their own interests.

Goran Soster reproached Slovene politicians that they were irresolute about the trial of the four. Janez Stanovnik replied: Raif Dizdarevic told me exactly the same thing, wondering why we allowed the power to slip out of our hands. But I ask you: Do you perhaps want a Comintern power? We have decided for a democratic road, which means that we allow writing and speaking without applying Article 133 of the Criminal Law and police repression."

Janez Stanovnik also explained all other events: "My meeting with federal authorities occurred on 26 May, which is to say before the arrests. I attended a bilateral meeting with the SFRY Presidency in Belgrade, and General Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, also attended. This is to say that I did not attend the meeting in connection with the arrests, but in connection with the Military Council statement. Therefore I reject the reproaches that my reaction was too late. As soon as the affair popped up, I immediately requested a contact meeting, because the question reached the public. Why? Because General Tominc betrayed a state secret. That is why the matter became public. It was only afterwards that I disclosed to the public that the meeting had taken place on 26 May and that the SFRY Presidency decided that such incidents should be prevented in the future and that the contacts should be maintained only between me and General Visnjic." Janez Stanovnik was thus informed before the arrests, but, as he put it, he "had no opportunity for action." Having explained the proceedings concerning Jansa's arrest, Janez Stanovnik said that he saw no opportunity for Slovene politicians and authorities to intervene in any way at any time. After Tasic' arrest, Janez Stanovnik again requested a meeting with Raif Dizdarevic and asked that the investigations bet speeded up. "I still have difficulties because of this, but I have not spoken about them publicly."

Speaking about the relationship of the civilian and military authorities to society, Janez Stanovnik said that the problem in our country does not arise between civilian society and the Army, but it arises because of the different views on the concept of Yugoslavia. "We believe that the Yugoslav People's Army is nothing but the armed force of the federation. The federation's sole sovereign core rests on the sovereignty of the peoples and republics, which is to say that it is sovereign to the extent that the republics cede sovereignty to it. The idea that is now spreading, that Yugoslavia should get rid of republicanism, is far from the idea that brought us to Yugoslavia. The conflict is between the sovereign agent, the people, and the instrument of the federation, the Army. After all, republicanism is not to be blamed for the Yugoslav crisis."

Stanovnik said about the Human Rights Protection Committee that the majority of the Slovene people support it in principle and that it is backed by many people. "I much appreciate everything that I get from the committee reflecting the public opinion. As regards information, the committee's horizon is certainly narrower than mine. Fate pushed me into the position of a man who knows too much, and therefore I cannot draw some moves. If history turns again me, I will have no regrets, for my conscience is clear," Janez Stanovnik said.

'Some Employees' Strike at Nova Gradiska Factory

LD2809102388 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Sep 88

[Summary from poor reception] Some employees at the Tang tool factory in Nova Gradiska went on strike yesterday. They were joined this morning by the rest of the work force. The cause of the strike is dissatisfaction with personal incomes.

Belgrade Youth Group Holds Meeting 29 Sep

LD2609180688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—On Thursday, 29 September at 1700 in front of the Pinki Hall in Zemun, the youth organization of this Belgrade municipality has scheduled a youth meeting under the slogan "We want

the future." Pavao Milosevic, chairman of the Zemun Socialist Youth Organization Municipal Conference informed journalists of this today.

Mentioning that young people cannot be expected to accept the existing situation just like that, Milosevic stressed that by organizing the meeting of young people, attention is drawn to the bad habit of adopting numerous conclusions at various conferences, out of which virtually nothing is achieved. Contained in the slogans "We are cleverer than you think" or "Give us a chance and we'll repay the debts," are some of the demands to be voiced at the meeting.

According to the expectations of the organizers, the meeting of young people from Zemun will also be attended by youth delegations from Kranj, Herceg-Novi, Banja Luka, Osijek and Bitola.

FEC President Mikulic Leaves for Austria 29 Sep

LD2909081188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0732 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council, left today for a 2-day official visit to Austria at the invitation of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

The Yugoslav-Austrian dialogue at the prime-ministerial level will cover the development of bilateral and, in particular, economic relations and a number of topical international issues of common interest. Special attention is expected to be given to major political and economic trends in Europe.

Arrives in Austria 29 Sep

LD2909102488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 29 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Vienna, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic, accompanied by his wife and members of the Yugoslav delegation, arrived in Vienna this morning on a 2-day official visit to the Republic of Austria. At Vienna's Schwechat Airport, where the special aircraft from Yugoslavia landed at 0915, the Yugoslav prime minister, his wife, and members of the Yugoslav delegation were met and cordially greeted by Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, his wife, and the Austrian officials who will be taking part in the coming bilateral talks.

Branko Mikulic is accompanied by Franc Horvat, president of the Federal Committee for Tourism; Ilija Djukic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs; and other officials. The Yugoslav delegation also will include Milos Krstic, the SFRY ambassador in Austria. On the Austrian side, the welcoming ceremony was attended by Heinrich Neisser, minister at the Federal Chancellery; Thomas Klestil, general secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and Dr Paul Leifer, Austrian ambassador to Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

28 Sep Austrian Press Interview

LD2809230988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 28 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—FEC President Branko Mikulic, on the eve of his visit to Austria, has replied to several questions put to him by a group of Austrian journalists.

Asked to comment on the latest events in Yugoslavia, especially in the SR of Serbia, as well as the reaction "of the northern republics" to these events, and when asked, "isn't this like dangerously playing with fire? And does this not bring with it the danger of possible civil war?" FEC President Branko Mikulic said: Surely you do not draw such serious conclusions from our situation? There are two immediate causes of the latest development in the political situation both in Serbia and in Yugoslavia. The first reason is the long duration of the Kosovo crisis, i.e. the fact that the forces of the national-chauvinist and separatist counterrevolution have not been defeated, but are continuing their activity and are exerting pressure on the freedoms of the people and their property and memorials. As a result of the violence which continues to occur, part of the population, especially the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo—but not only the Serbs and Montenegrins—have reacted by holding protest meetings, expressing their discontent that the forces of counterrevolution are not being eliminated more rapidly. This situation has been going on for 7 and ½ years. The population are exhausted by these pressures and this violence, and are asking for it to be prevented. The other direct reason is the constitutional changes both in Yugoslavia and, in particular, in the SR of Serbia.

The FEC President stressed that regardless of the fact that the reaction to the activity of the Albanian nationalchauvinists and separatists, as well as to other nationalist tendencies, has come to be expressed in such a way, such major conclusions that in Yugoslavia we are playing with fire and are faced with the danger of the outbreak of more serious conflicts and suchlike, should not be drawn from this. We are certain that all this will be overcome by democratic means and methods and that we will not play with fire. He said that many people in other parts of the country are also concerned about what has been happening in the "northern parts" of the country, especially the attacks on the Army, the meetings which were held there, various manifestations and various forms of the expression of protests, and the dissatisfaction of some young people, which we have also not prevented. Of course, the appropriate measures will be taken in Kosovo. The state has an obligation to guarantee personal and property freedoms and the safety of citizens and to ensure a tranquil life and peaceful sleep for all people.

On the question of the meetings, the FEC president replied that in Yugoslavia, the right of people to express their will freely and gather is constitutionally guaranteed, but the federal leadership has indicated some negative phenomena in these gatherings. First, because

at some of these meetings slogans have appeared which have been deemed politically harmful; and second, because in this way, by meetings, such important issues as the Kosovo situation and solutions in connection with constitutional amendments cannot be resolved. Representatives of the SR of Serbia as well as of all the other republics and provinces have participated in the adoption of conclusions in the federal organs. However, much of this has gone ahead spontaneously and sometimes without regard to the institutions of the system. Whilst the polemics, as many of them as there have been, suggest that we should clear up the question of what is not good but is expressed at these meetings.

In connection with the statement that it is paradoxical that the political leadership of Yugoslavia is appreciated more abroad than in the country, the FEC president said that in Yugoslavia too the time had passed when people only thought positively about people in senior posts. We are all exposed to critical public scrutiny. Remarks are made freely about each official. This process also has its bad side. After all, in the public life of Yugoslavia, over the last year or 2, the democratic achievement has begun to be considered as something which it is not. For example, the right to slander a personality, the stating of lies, the irresponsible public criticism of people by name—this is something which is not a sign of democracy in any society, but on the contrary could become a threat to further democratic development. However, as you see, we are not reacting nervously to this either.

Asked about the content of the reforms in Yugoslavia, the FEC president stressed that the first thing is to change the SFRY Constitution; second, to radically reform the economic system with the orientation toward commodity production and the market; and third, to reform the LC so that it can realize its role in new conditions. Thus, the proposal of the three reforms is a positive response to the Yugoslav economic and social crisis. Mikulic also said that at the end of November changes to the SFRY Constitution, and during this year systemic laws too, will be approved which, as from 1 January next year will introduce a completely new economic system in Yugoslavia. Work is also going on on preparations for reforming the LCY.

The FEC president particularly stressed the importance of reforming the economic system. He stressed that the work in the FEC commission for the reform of the economic system is going ahead very successfully, and that by the end of the year, a consistent economic system will be arrived at which is based on the respect of economic legalities and market criteria for doing business. We have set about unraveling many questions which hitherto have not been discussed in Yugoslavia. We have also placed on the agenda some prejudices, for example about socialism being able to be built only on the basis of social ownership. In other words, private and cooperative ownership should develop alongside social ownership. We have decided to have an integrated market. The conception of an economic system in which factories, in other words economic subjects, will be completely autonomous and bear the risk for all their business and developmental decisions has been put forward. The state will regulate the general conditions for doing business, just like every modern state in the market economies, while economic subjects will decide autonomously about all questions of their developmental and business policy. They will enjoy the fruits of their good decisions, and they will bear the risks and consequences, including liquidation and bankruptcy, for the bad decisions. Of course, we will not change the course of the development of socialism on the basis of self-management. This is unchangeable for us.

On the question of the link between the changes in the tax system and the scope for investing foreign capital in Yugoslavia, the FEC president said that suspicions regarding the development of small businesses, both in the social and private sector, and accompanied by the burden of the "cult" of big factories, are a more serious brake than the imperfections in the tax system. Mikulic also hinted at a fundamental reform of the tax system.

Otherwise, we are offering completely new solutions with the new law on joint ventures. We are guaranteeing to the foreign investor the safety of his invested funds, the transfer of profits and the right to manage joint enterprises. Mikulic also explained the other benefits being offered to foreign investors. According to him, there is interest for joint ventures in Yugoslavia in various parts of the world—the United States, Canada, Italy, France, and other countries. I believe that there will also be such interest on the part of business partners in Austria as well.

Asked whether in Yugoslavia there are oscillations and vacillation in connection with the foreign political orientation—whether the focus is on an orientation toward the nonaligned or on an orientation toward a united Europe, and even indecisiveness as to whether to look East or West—the FEC president replied that he is surprised by such thinking about Yugoslavia because Yugoslavia is a nonaligned country and this is something constant for us and therefore it is not a matter of either East or West. We wish to preserve our independent and nonaligned policy. However, Yugoslavia is both a European and Mediterranean country. We do not want to be excluded from European processes, especially those which are developing in the fields of the economy, science, and technology. We are achieving cooperation with the EEC on the basis of specific unique agreements and we are monitoring very intensively all the acts and decisions in preparation for the situation which will be created in the EEC after 1992 and we are studying all the standards and want to prepare ourselves for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with this "future Europe." However, Yugoslavia will not enter into any forms of political organization nor will it receive any political obligations in these new forms in

the reorganization of Europe. A line should be drawn between these two things. We are resolved to preserve our independent and nonaligned policy. So, it is neither East nor West.

Mikulic also replied to several questions on cooperation and the relations between the two countries and here he observed that there is much in common in the international activity of neutral Austria and nonaligned Yugoslavia. We will devote particular attention in the talks, he said, to bilateral cooperation between our two countries, especially the balancing of trade and economic cooperation as a whole.

Commentary on Greek Abuse of Lake Doiran Water
AU2809192188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 88 p 7

[Zivko Cerovic commentary: "Cherishing the Good-Neighbor Policy to One's Own Detriment"]

[Text] The Presidency of the SR of Macedonia recently demanded that the utilization of the water in Lake Doiran be regulated by an interstate agreement. At the same time, a delegation of the SR of Macedonia to the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces asked who had permitted the utilization of 5 million cubic meters of water from Lake Doiran, for what reasons, and on what basis this was done, as well as why the FEC failed to request that the Greek side strictly comply with the agreement. Another question was what measures the federal government will take with a view to establishing the responsibility of our respective bodies and what will be done to repair the damage done to the flora and fauna of the lake.

The first to do something in the search for the culprit behind what happened with Lake Doiran was the Macedonian Executive Council, which concluded at one of its most recent sessions that Bogdan Todorovski, president of the Republican Committee for Agriculture, Forestry, and Water Management, has to be taken to account. The Executive Council suggested that he be relieved of his present duties. At the same session, the republican Executive Council relieved Slavco Sonevski, director of the Republican Administration for Water Management, of his duties.

There is no doubt that the respective Macedonian organs have made the first necessary and completely unexpected move. We hope that the people responsible in the republican committee for international relations will also soon be called to account. The Macedonian example should certainly be followed by the SFRY Assembly in assessing the responsibility of federal bodies, as well as in finding out a way to make up for the damage.

What happened at Lake Doiran from 27 July to 2 September is equal to an ecological catastrophe. The drama and agony of a natural rarity—in fact, together with Lakes Prespa and Ohrid, protected by a law of 1970—unfolded before the eyes of astounded local people and tourists. Because of the great drought in northern Greece, and following several Greek demands, the Yugoslav Government, through the Federal Committee for Agriculture, permitted our southern neighbor to take 5 million cubic meters of Doiran water. Such a decision was explained by solidarity. Without commenting on this, let us say that on our side, several kilometers away from the lake, vineyards and fields with various crops were drying up, and forest fires raged nearby.

The Agony of the Lake [subhead]

Everything would probably have been all right—if anything in this case can be called right—had the Greeks not pulled down the dam which, under an interstate agreement, had the lowest and highest water levels of the lake marked on it. Because of the drought, the water level this year was below the minimum of 144.8 meters, so that pulling down the dam and deepening the Djolj aj outflow canal resulted in an uncontrolled outflow of water. Thereby, the level of the lake fell by 58 centimeters and, instead of 5 million cubic meters of water, over 24 (or 17) [as published] million flowed away to the Greek fields, the quantity equaling almost one-tenth of the complete water potential of the lake under optimal hydrological conditions. The picture that our tourists in Greece could see was sad: In cornfields and other fields one could see thousands and millions of fish, particularly young fish.

The uncontrolled water outflow from Lake Doiran in more than a month has moved the shoreline more than 20 meters toward the center of the lake. The reeds along the shorefront have begun to whither. In a word, an entire ecosystem has been seriously disrupted, and decades will be needed for its revitalization. Skeptics say that the biological clock cannot be set back, therefore the lake will never be what it used to be. One should also not ignore the warnings of seismologists, who say that the sudden fall in the water level of the lake has disturbed the balance between underground and surface waters, and therefore also the seismic balance in this area which is prone to earthquakes.

Already Seen [subhead]

On 16 and 20 August the Yugoslav side, through a joint group of experts, demanded that the Greek side stop the uncontrolled outflow of water, but they replied that such a decision can be made only by the government in Athens. Not even Papathemelis, minister of northern Greece, was "authorized" to do this. Only after stormy protests and official demands by the Yugoslav side was the dam erected and the further outflow from the lake stopped.

The Doiran drama resembled something that we have already seen and experienced because it was not the only case of this kind. Last fall, for the first time since 1980, we publicly "established" that Romania had disregarded

the current agreement and had used the water of the Iron Gate Lake as it had found suitable. Last November the level of the lake at the dam fell by more than 3 meters. As a consequence of disrupted water flow, the operation of the Nikola Tesla power plant in Obrenovac and the Kostolac thermoelectric power plant almost stopped. The operations of Smederevo Port and the Pancevo oil terminal was also endangered. It was only last year that experts publicized the fact that Romania has given us 14 such hydroelectric shocks in the past 4 years and that paying the debts and for the damage is a huge problem. Experts have calculated that damages amounted to about $30 million during last year alone.

A similar case occurred when the electric power plant was constructed on the Drin i Bardhe in Albania, because of which several hundred hectares of fertile land in Metohija were flooded and dozens of villages evacuated. What can one say about the fact that in the name of good-neighbor policy—and in connection with such excesses and events, that is always given as an excuse—we permitted Lake Scutari, another natural rarity, to be destroyed in order to construct an embankment for an unprofitable railroad, which causes harm not only to flora and fauna, but also caused problems for the respective railroad transportation organization, in this case the one in Titograd. Let us mention the uncontrolled pollution of rivers that flow through two or more European countries and the damage caused by dying forests in the northern part of our country. So far, one keeps silent about all that, or mentions it only occasionally.

All the above-mentioned cases certainly must not and cannot call into question our good-neighbor policy of goodwill, cooperation, and solidarity. However, the way in which this good-neighbor policy is taken advantage of by some neighbors, so that they benefit, and nobody else does, makes one ask several questions. Who could allow (a state or some other body) to threaten the life in a lake which that same state had proclaimed a natural rarity? Who could allow Greek owners of canals to use Yugoslav water and then sell it at a high price and thereby get rich on our account? Who could and would dare to remain silent about water and power having been stolen for years? Are good-neighborly feelings in fact goodwill by only one side?

Ilie Ceausescu Received by LCY Secretary Onosek

AU2209201488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1954 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, (AGERPRES), 22/9/1988—A warm exchange of messages between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the CC of the LCY, was occasioned by the call paid on Stefan Onosek, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, by Lieutenant Ilie Ceausescu, member of the CC of the RCP, deputy minister of National Defence, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army, who accompanied by a delegation of party activists of the Romanian Army, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Yugoslavia over 19-22 September.

During the talks held on the occasion the sides stressed that the relations of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and the LCY witness continuous development, in the spirit of the accords and understandings agreed upon during the summit interviews and talks. The sides expressed the mutual wish to work for deepening and diversifying these good relations in the interest of the two countries and peoples.

Ukrainian Trade Delegation Visits Croatia

LD2609173588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—There exist both potentials and desire on both sides for a considerable increase in the volume of trade between the economies of Croatia and the Ukraine as part of the efforts to advance overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations. There is a special need for developing, more intensively, higher forms of economic cooperation.

This was stressed today in the course of talks which Antun Milovic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia, and his aides had with members of a delegation from the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers headed by the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, Vitaliy Masol. The Ukrainian delegation is on a several day visit to our country. Although over the last 4 years a sevenfold increase was recorded in the exchange of goods between Croatia and the Ukraine with its value amounting to $23 million last year alone, both sides agreed that efforts should be made to achieve a futher twofold or even threefold increase in the trade between the two republics. Potentials for this exist especially in diversifying the range and forms of machinery and equipment, various raw materials, agricultural produce, consumer goods, and services exchanged between the two republics.

The need was also stressed for advancing cooperation in the areas of science, technology, culture, and education or which both sides expressed considerable interest.

This afternoon the delegation of the UKSSR Council of Ministers will tour Belje agricultural combine.

SFRY Leaders Greet Zhivkov on National Day

AU2409173588 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Sep 88 p 4

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov received a telegram from Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and from Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, on the occasion of the Bulgarian National Day—9 September.

The telegram expresses confidence that relations between the two countries will comprehensively develop on the basis of the principles of good-neighborly relations, in the interest of our peoples, and for the sake of peace and stability in the area of the Balkans and in Europe.

Koresec in Rome To Visit Italian Communist Party
LD2609180388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 26 Sep 88

[Text] Rome, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived in Rome today for a 3-day working visit to Italy at the invitation of the PCI [Italian Communist Party]. During the visit Korosec should have a meeting with PCI General Secretary Achille Occhetto and Giorgio Napolitano, a member of the party Directorate. He will also visit the Cespi Political Studies Center which is headed by Giuseppe Boffa.